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FRANÇOIS PIDOU.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
FROM
THE REVOLUTION
TO
THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. IV.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE REVOLUTION

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND

BOOK II.

CHAP. V:

§ I. *Remarkable instance of suicide* II. *Affairs of the continent.* III. *Meeting of the parliament.* IV. *Address to the King touching the Spanish depredations.* V. *The excise-scheme proposed by Sir R. Walpole.* VI. *Opposition to the scheme.* VII. *Bill for a dowry to the Princess Royal.* VIII. *Debate in the House of Lords concerning the estates of the late directors of the South-Sea company.* IX. *Double election of a king in Poland.* X. *The Kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia join against the Emperor.* XI. *The Prince of Orange arrives in England.* XII. *Altercation in the House of Commons.* XIII. *Debate*

VOL. IV.

B

2 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

about the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective regiments. XIV. Motion for the repeal of the septennial act. XV. Conclusion of a remarkable speech by Sir W. Wyndham. XVI. Message from the King for powers to augment the forces in the intervals between the two parliaments. XVII. Opposition in the House of Peers. Parliament dissolved. XVIII. Dantzic besieged by the Russians. XIX. Philippsburgh taken by the French. Don Carlos takes possession of Naples. XX. Battle of Parma. XXI. The Imperialists are again worsted at Guastalla. An edict in France compelling the British subjects in that kingdom to enlist in the French army. XXII. New parliament in Great Britain. XXIII. Debate on a subsidy to Denmark. XXIV. Petition of some Scottish noblemen to the House of Peers. XXV. Bill explaining an act of the Scottish parliament touching wronguous imprisonment. XXVI. Misunderstanding between the courts of Spain and Portugal. Sir John Norris sails with a strong squadron to Lisbon. XXVII. Preliminaries signed by the Emperor and the King of France. XXVIII. Proceedings in parliament. XXIX. Bill for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors. Another for the relief of Quakers in the article of tithes XXX. Mortmain act. XXXI. Remarkable riot at Edinburgh. XXXII. Rupture between the Czarina and the Ottoman Porte. XXXIII. The session of parliament opened by commission. XXXIV. Motion in both Houses for a settlement on the Prince of Wales.

XXXV. *Fierce debate on this subject.* XXXVI. *Scheme by Sir J. Barnard for reducing the interest of the national debt.* XXXVII. *Bill against the city of Edinburgh.* XXXVIII. *Play-house bill.*

§ 1. **T**HE most remarkable incident that distinguished this year in England was a very uncommon instance of suicide; an act of despair so frequent among the English, that in other countries it is objected to them as a national reproach. Though it may be generally termed the effect of lunacy proceeding from natural causes operating on the human body, in some few instances it seems to have been the result of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a book-binder, and prisoner for debt within the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, at about a yard's distance from each other; and in a separate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers enclosed in a short letter to their landlord, whose kindness they implored in favor of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who should carry the enclosed papers to the person for whom they were addressed. In one of these the husband thanked that person for the marks of friendship he had received at his hands; and complained of the ill offices he had undergone from a different quarter. The other paper, subscribed by the husband and wife, contained the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on

CHAP.

V.

1732.

B 2

BOOK

II.

1732.

themselves and their offspring. This letter was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good humor, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared, that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures: they, therefore, resigned up their lives to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which, in his goodness, he should appoint after death. Those unfortunate suicides had been always industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

§ II. Trustees having been appointed by charter to superintend a new settlement in Georgia, situated to the southward of Carolina in America, Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and governor of the province, embarked at Gravesend, with a number of poor families, to plant that colony. The King of Spain having equipped a very powerful armament, the fleet sailed on the fourth day of June from the road of Alicant, under the command of the Count de Montemar, and arrived on the coast of Barbary in the neighbourhood of Oran, where a

considerable body of troops was landed without much opposition. Next day, however they were attacked by a numerous army of Moors, over whom they obtained a complete victory. The Bey or governor of Oran immediately retired with his garrison, and the Spaniards took possession of the place, from which they had been driven in the year one thousand seven hundred and eight. The strong fort of Mazalaquivir was likewise surrendered to the victors at the first summons; so that their expedition answered all the views with which it had been projected. Victor Amadæus, the abdicated King of Sardinia, having, at the instigation of his wife, engaged in some intrigues, in order to re-ascend the throne, his son, the reigning king, ordered his person to be seized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a strong escort. His wife, the marchioness de Spigno, was conducted to Seva. The old King's confessor, his physician, and eight-and-forty persons of distinction were imprisoned. The citadel of Turin was secured with a strong garrison; and new instructions were given to the governor and senate of Chamberry. The dispute which had long subsisted between the King of Prussia and the young Prince of Orange, touching the succession to the estates possessed by King William III. as head of the house of Orange, was at last accommodated by a formal treaty signed at Berlin and Dieren. The Dutch were greatly alarmed about this time with an apprehension of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occasioned by worms, which were said to have consumed the

6 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK

II.

1732.

piles and timber-work that supported their dikes. They prayed and fasted with uncommon zeal, in terror of this calamity, which they did not know how to avert in any other manner. At length, they were delivered from their fears by a hard frost, which effectually destroyed those dangerous animals. About this time, Mr. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the Elector of Hanover, received, in the name of his master, the investiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the Emperor.

§ III. The history of England at this period cannot be very interesting, as it chiefly consists in an annual revolution of debates in parliament. Debates, in which the same arguments perpetually recur on the same subjects. When the session was opened on the sixteenth day of January, the King declared, that the situation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unnecessary for him to lay before the two Houses any other reasons for calling them together, but the ordinary dispatch of the public business, and his desire of receiving their advice in such affairs as should require the care and consideration of parliament. The motion made in the House of Commons for an address of thanks implied, that they should express their satisfaction at the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad. The motion was carried notwithstanding the opposition of those who observed, that the nation had very little reason to be pleased with the present posture of affairs; that the French were employed in fortifying and restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties: that the British merchants had received no redress for the depredations com-

mitted by the Spaniards: that the commerce of England daily decreased; that no sort of trade thrived but the traffic of Change-Alley, where the most abominable frauds were practised; and that every session of parliament opened a new scene of villany and imposition.

§ IV. The pension-bill was once more revived, and lost again in the House of Peers. All the reasons formerly advanced against a standing army were now repeated; and a reduction of the number insisted upon with such warmth, that the ministerial party were obliged to have recourse to the old phantom of the Pretender. Sir Archer Croft said a continuation of the same number of forces was the more necessary, because, to his knowledge, popery was increasing very fast in the country; for, in one parish which he knew, there were seven popish priests; and that the danger from the Pretender was the more to be feared, because they did not know but he was then breeding his son a protestant. Sir Robert Walpole observed, that a reduction of the army was the chief thing wished for and desired by all the Jacobites in the kingdom, that no reduction had ever been made but what gave fresh hopes to that party, and encouraged them to raise tumults against the government; and he did not doubt but that if they should resolve to reduce any part of the army, there would be post-horses employed that very night to carry the good news beyond sea to the Pretender. His brother Horatio added that the number of troops then proposed was absolutely necessary to support

8 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK

II.

1732.

his Majesty's government, and would be necessary as long as the nation enjoyed the happiness of having the present illustrious family on the throne. The futility, the self-contradiction, and the ridiculous absurdity of these suggestions were properly exposed: nevertheless, the army was voted without any reduction. Sir Wilfred Lawson having made a motion for an address to the King, to know what satisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on British merchants, it was after a violent debate approved, and the address presented. The King, in answer to this remonstrance, gave them to understand, that the meeting of the commissaries of the two crowns had been so long delayed by unforeseen accidents; that the conferences were not opened till the latter end of the preceding February; and that as the courts of London and Madrid had agreed that the term of three years stipulated for finishing the commission should be computed from their first meeting, a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the House of Commons. A bill had been long depending for granting encouragement to the sugar-colonies in the West-Indies; but, as it was founded upon a prohibition that would have put a stop to all commerce between the French islands and the British settlements in North-America, it met with a very warm opposition from those who had the prosperity of those northern colonies at heart. But the bill being patronized and supported by the court-interest, surmounted all objections, and afterwards passed

into a law. While the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Sir Robert Walpole moved, that five hundred thousand pounds should be issued out of the sinking fund for the service of the ensuing year. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Sir John Barnard, expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging a sacred deposit, solemnly appropriated to the discharge of the national debt. They might have demonstrated the egregious folly of a measure, by which the public, for a little temporary ease, lost the advantage of the accumulating interest which would have arisen from the sinking fund if properly managed and reserved. All objections vanished before the powers of ministerial influence, which nothing now could check but the immediate danger of popular commotion. Such hazardous interposition actually defeated a scheme which had been adopted by the minister, and even before its appearance alarmed all the trading part of the nation.

§ V. The House having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the most proper methods for the better security and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers relating to these duties were submitted to the perusal of the members: the commissioners of the Customs and Excise were ordered to attend the House, the avenues of which were crowded with multitudes of people; and the members in the opposition waited impatiently for a proposal, in which they thought the liberties of their country so deeply interested. In a word, there had been a call of the House on the preceding day. The

B O O K session was frequent and full; and both sides appeared
II. ready and eager for the contest, when Sir Robert
 1732. Walpole broached his design. He took notice of the
 arts which had been used to prejudice the people
 against his plan before it was known. He affirmed that
 the clamors occasioned by these prejudices had origi-
 nally risen from smugglers and fraudulent dealers,
 who had enriched themselves by cheating the pub-
 lic; and that these had been strenuously assisted and
 supported by another set of men, fond of every op-
 portunity to stir up the people of Great-Britain to
 mutiny and sedition. He expatiated on the frauds
 that were committed in that branch of the revenue
 arising from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardships
 to which the American planters were subjected by
 the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as
 by the ill usage they had met with from their factors
 and correspondents in England, who, from being
 their servants, were now become their masters; upon
 the injury done to the fair trader; and the loss sus-
 tained by the public with respect to the revenue.
 He asserted that the scheme he was about to propose
 would remove all these inconveniences, prevent
 numberless frauds, perjuries, and false entries, and
 add two or three hundred thousand pounds per an-
 num to the public revenue. He entered into a long
 detail of frauds practised by the knavish dealer in
 those commodities: he recited the several acts of
 parliament that related to the duties on wine and
 tobacco: he declared he had no intention to pro-
 mote a general excise: he endeavoured to obviate

some objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He proposed to join the laws of Excise to those of the Customs: that the further subsidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco should be still levied at the Custom-House, and payable to his Majesty's civil-list as heretofore: that then the tobacco should be lodged in warehouses, to be appointed for that purpose by the commissioners of the Excise: that the keeper of each warehouse, appointed likewise by the commissioners, should have one lock and key, and the merchant-importer have another: and that the tobacco should be thus secured until the merchant should find vent for it, either by exportation or home-consumption: that the part designed for exportation should be weighed at the Custom-House, discharged of the three farthings per pound which had been paid at its first importation, and then exported without further trouble: that the portion destined for home-consumption should, in presence of the warehouse-keeper, be delivered to the purchaser, upon his paying the inland duty of four pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eased of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of granting bonds and finding sureties for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, so far as they formerly belonged to the crown, should for the future be applied to the use of the public: that appeals in this,

B O O K

II.

1732.

as well as in all other cases relating to the excise, should be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his Majesty; and in the country, by the judge of assize upon the next circuit, who should hear and determine such appeals in the most summary manner, without the formality of proceedings in courts of law or equity.

§ VI: Such was the substance of the famous excise-scheme, in favor of which Sir Robert Walpole moved, that the duties and subsidies on tobacco should from and after the twenty-fourth day of June cease and determine. The debate which ensued was managed and maintained by all the able speakers on both sides of the question. Sir Robert Walpole was answered by Mr. Perry, member for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the opposition. Sir John Barnard, another representative of London, distinguished himself in the same cause. He was supported by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and other patriots. The scheme was espoused by Sir Philip Yorke, appointed lord-chief-justice of the King's-Bench, and ennobled in the course of the ensuing year. Sir Joseph Jekyl approved of the project, which was likewise strenuously defended by Lord Hervey, Sir Thomas Robinson, Sir William Yonge, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which last excelled all his contemporaries of the ministry in talents and address. Those who argued against the scheme accused the minister of having misrepresented the frauds, and made false calculations. With respect to the supposed hardships under which the planters were

said to labor, they affirmed that no planter had
 ever dreamed of complaining, until instigated by
 letters and applications from London: that this
 scheme, far from relieving the planters, would
 expose the factors to such grievous oppression, that
 they would not be able to continue the trade, conse-
 quently the planters would be entirely ruined; and
 after all it would not prevent those frauds against
 which it was said to be provided: that from the
 examination of the commissioners of the Customs, it
 appeared that those frauds did not exceed forty
 thousand pounds per annum, and might in a great
 measure be abolished, by a due execution of the
 laws in being; consequently this scheme was
 unnecessary, would be ineffectual in augmenting
 the revenue, destructive to trade, and dangerous
 to the liberties of the subject, as it tended to promote
 a general excise, which was in all countries considered
 as a grievous oppression. They suggested that it
 would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers
 and warehouse-keepers, appointed and paid by the
 Treasury, so as to multiply the dependants on
 the crown, and enable it still further to influence
 the freedom of elections: that the traders would
 become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers,
 as they would be debarred all access to their
 commodities, except at certain hours, when
 attended by those officers: that the merchant,
 for every quantity of tobacco he could sell, would
 be obliged to make a journey, or send a messenger
 to the office for a permit, which could not be
 obtained without trouble, expense, and delay:

C H A P.

V.

1722.

14 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK
II.

and that should a law be enacted in consequence of this motion, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise-laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the liberty of Great-Britain would be no more. In the course of this debate, Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the House. He said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them: that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called sturdy beggars; and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the Court of Requests, and lobby of the House of Commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce: that when he came into the House, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honorable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever.

After a warm dispute the motion was carried by a majority of sixty-one voices. Several resolutions were founded on the proposal; and to these the House agreed, though not without another violent contest. The resolutions produced a bill, against which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor,

AN. 1732.

aldermen, and common-council of London, the cities of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that counsel should be heard for the city of London; but it was rejected by the majority, and the petitions were ordered to lie upon the table. Had the minister encountered no opposition but that which appeared within doors, his project would have certainly been carried into execution: but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamored loudly against the excise-bill. The populace still crowded around Westminster-hall, blocking up all the avenues to the House of Commons. They even insulted the persons of those members who had voted for the ministry on this occasion; and Sir Robert Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He therefore, thought proper to drop the design, by moving that the second reading of the bill might be postponed till the twelfth day of June. Then complaint being made of the insolence of the populace, who had maltreated several members, divers resolutions were taken against those tumultuous crowds, and their abettors: these resolves were communicated to the lord-mayor of London, the sheriff of Middlesex, and the high-bailiff of Westminster. Some individuals were apprehended in the Court of Requests, as having fomented the disturbances; but they were soon released. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace. After the miscarriage of the excise-scheme, the House unanimously resolved to inquire into the frauds and abuses in the Customs; and a committee of

BOOK twenty - one persons was chosen by ballot for
 11. this purpose.

1733.

§ VII. The subsequent debates of this session were occasioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of stockjobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the House of Lords, who proposed some amendments, in consequence of which it was laid aside; and by another bill establishing a lottery, to raise five hundred thousand pounds for the relief of those who had suffered by the charitable corporation. After having undergone some alterations it passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. The King, by a message to parliament, had signified his intention to give the Princess royal in marriage to the Prince of Orange, promising himself their concurrence and assistance, that he might be enabled to bestow such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons immediately resolved, that out of the monies arising from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher's, his Majesty should be empowered to apply fourscore thousand pounds, as a marriage-dower for his daughter; and a clause for this purpose was inserted in the bill, for enabling his Majesty to apply five hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year.

§ VII. The opposition in the House of Lords was still more animated, though ineffectual. The debates chiefly turned upon the pension-bill, the number of land-forces, and a motion made by Lord Bathurst, for an account of the produce of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the directors of the South-Sea company.

The

The trustees for these estates had charged themselves with a great sum of money, and the lords in the opposition thought they had a right to know how it had been disposed. The ministry had reasons to stifle this inquiry; and, therefore, opposed it with all their vigor. Nevertheless the motion was carried, after a warm dispute, and the directors of the South-Sea company were ordered to lay the account before the House. From this, it appeared that the large sums of money arising from the forfeited estates had been distributed among the proprietors, by way of dividend, even before recourse was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce should be applied: Lord Bathurst, therefore, moved for a resolution of the House, that the disposal of this money by way of dividend, without any order or direction of a general court for that purpose, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the disposal thereof, and a manifest injustice done to the proprietors of that stock. The Duke of Newcastle, in order to gain time, moved, that as the account was confused, and almost unintelligible, the present directors of the company might be ordered to lay before the House a further and more distinct account of the manner in which the money had been disposed. A violent contest ensued, in the course of which the House divided, and of fifty seven peers who voted for the delay, forty six were such as enjoyed preferment in the church, commissions in the army, or civil employments under the government. At length Lord Bathurst waved his motion for that time: then the House ordered that the present and former directors of the South-Sea company, together

BOOK with the late inspectors of their accounts, should
 11. attend, and be examined. They were accordingly
 1733. interrogated, and gave so little satisfaction, that
 Lord Bathurst moved for a committee of inquiry; but
 the question being put, was carried in the negative:
 yet a very strong protest was entered by the lords in
 the opposition. The next subject of altercation was the
 bill for misapplying part of the produce of the sinking-
 fund. It was attacked with all the force of argument,
 wit, and declamation by the Earl of Stafford, Lords
 Bathurst and Carteret, and particularly by the Earl
 of Chesterfield, who had by this time resigned his
 staff of lord-steward of the household, and renounced
 all connexion with the ministry. Lord Bathurst
 moved for a resolution, importing that, in the opinion
 of the House, the sinking fund ought for the future
 to be applied, in time of peace and public tranquil-
 lity, to the redemption of those taxes which were
 most prejudicial to the trade, most burdensome on
 the manufactures, and most oppressive on the poor
 of the nation. This motion was over-ruled, and
 the bill adopted by the majority. On the eleventh
 day of June, the King gave the royal assent to the bills
 that were prepared, and closed the session with a
 speech, in which he took notice of the wicked
 endeavours that had been lately used to inflame the
 minds of the people, by the most unjust misrepres-
 entations.

§ IX. Europe was now re-involved in fresh troubles, by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Augustus died at Warsaw in the end of January, and the neighbouring powers were immediately in com-

motion. The Elector of Saxony, son to the late King, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themselves candidates for the Polish throne. The Emperor, the Czarina, and the King of Prussia espoused the interests of the Saxon: the King of France supported the pretensions of his father-in-law. The foreign ministers at Warsaw forthwith began to form intrigues among the Electors; the Marquis de Monti, ambassador from France, exerted himself so successfully, that he soon gained over the primate, and a majority of the Catholic dietines, to the interests of Stanislaus; while the Imperial and Russian troops hovered on the frontiers of Poland. The French King no sooner understood that a body of the Emperor's forces was encamped at Silesia, than he ordered the Duke of Berwick to assemble an army on the Rhine, and take measures for entering Germany; in case the Imperialists should march into Poland. A French fleet set sail for Dantzick, while Stanislaus travelled through Germany in disguise to Poland, and concealed himself in the house of the French ambassador at Warsaw. As the day of election approached, the Imperial, Russian, and Prussian ministers delivered in their several declarations, by way of protest against the contingent election of Stanislaus, as a person proscribed, disqualified, depending upon a foreign power, and connected with the Turks, and other infidels. The Russian General Lascki entered Poland at the head of fifty thousand men: the diet of the election was opened with the usual ceremony on the twenty-fifth day of August.

§ O O X Prince Viesazowiski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula, with three thousand men, including some of the nobility who adhered to that party. Nevertheless, the primate proceeded to the election: Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king; and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamation. The opposite party soon increased to ten thousand men; protested against the election, and joined the Russian army, which advanced by speedy marches. King Stanislaus finding himself unable to cope with such adversaries, retired with the primate and French ambassador to Dantzick, leaving the Palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was surrendered upon terms: then the soldiers and inhabitants plundered the houses belonging to the grandees who had declared for Augustus, as well as the hotel of the Russian minister. In the mean time, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impracticable to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kolo at Grocow, where the Elector of Saxony was chosen and proclaimed, by the Bishop of Cracow, King of Poland, under the name of Augustus III. on the sixth day of October. They afterwards passed the river, and the Palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

§ X. During these transactions, the French King concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which those powers agreed to declare war against

the Emperor. Manifestos were published reciprocally by all the contracting powers. The Duke of Berwick passed the Rhine in October, and undertook the siege of fort Kehl, which in a few days was surrendered on capitulation: then he repassed the river, and returned to Versailles. The King of Sardinia having declared war against the Emperor, joined a body of French forces commanded by Mareschal de Villars, and drove the Imperialists out of the Milanese. His Imperial Majesty dreading the effects of such a powerful confederacy against him, offered to compromise all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the King of Great-Britain; and Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, proposed an accommodation. Philip expressed his acknowledgments to the King of England, declaring, however that the Emperor's advances were too late; and that his own resolutions were already taken. Nevertheless, he sent orders to the Count de Montijo, his ambassador at London, to communicate to his Britannic Majesty the motives which had induced him to take these resolutions. In the mean time, he detached a powerful armament to Italy, where they invested the Imperial fortress of Aulæ: the garrison of which was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The republic of Venice declared she would take no share in the disputes of Italy: the States-General signed a neutrality with the French King for the Austrian Netherlands, without consulting the Emperor or the King of Great-Britain, and the English councils seemed to be altogether pacific.

BOOK

II.

1713.

§ XI. In November the Prince of Orange arrived at Greenwich, in order to espouse the Princess Royal : but the marriage was postponed on account of his being taken ill; and he repaired to Bath in Somersetshire, to drink the waters for the recovery of his strength. Henrietta the young Duchess of Marlborough dying about this time, the title devolved to her sister's son, the Earl of Sunderland. Lord King resigning his office of chancellor, it was conferred upon Mr. Talbot, solicitor-general, together with the title of a baron; a promotion that reflected honor upon those by whom it was advised. He possessed the spirit of a Roman senator, the elegance of an Atticus, and the integrity of a Cato. At the meeting of the parliament in January, the King told them, in his speech, that though he was no way engaged in the war which had begun to rage in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the consequences of a war undertaken and supported by such a powerful alliance. He said, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both sides, and to wait the result of the councils of those powers that were more immediately interested in the consequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, such measures as should be thought most adviseable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe. In the meantime, he expressed his hope that they would make such

provision as should secure his kingdom, rights, and possessions from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. He said, that whatever part it might in the end be most reasonable for him to act, it would in all views be necessary, when all Europe was preparing for arms, to put his kingdoms in a posture of defence. The motion for an address of thanks produced, as usual, a debate in both Houses, which it must be owned, appears to have proceeded from a spirit of caviling, rather than from any reasonable cause of objection.

§ XII. The House of Commons resolved to address his Majesty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Rushout moved for another, desiring that the letters and instructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville should be submitted to the inspection of the Commons; but, after a hard struggle, it was over-ruled. The next motion was made by Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for some time appeared strenuous in the opposition, and wrangled with great perseverance. He proposed that the House should examine the instructions which had been given to the British minister in Poland, some years before the death of King Augustus, that they might be the better able to judge of the causes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The motion being opposed by all the court-members, a contest ensued, in the course of which Mr. Pulteney compared the ministry to an empyric, and the constitution of England to his patient. "This pretender in physic (said he) being consulted, tells the distempered

BOOK

II.

1733.

person, there were but two or three ways of treating his disease; and he was afraid that none of them would succeed. A vomit might throw him into convulsions that would occasion immediate death; a purge might bring on a diarrhœa that would carry him off in a short time; and he had been already bled so much, and so often, that he could bear it no longer. The unfortunate patient shocked at this declaration, replies, 'Sir, you have always pretended to be a regular doctor, but I now find you are an arrant quack. I had an excellent constitution when I first fell into your hands, but you have quite destroyed it; and now I find I have no other chance for saving my life, but by calling for the help of some regular physician.' In the debate, the members on both sides seemed to wander from the question, and indulge themselves with ludicrous personalities. Mr. H. Walpole took occasion to say, that the opposition treated the ministry as he himself was treated by some of his acquaintance, with respect to his dress. "If I am in plain clothes (said he) then they call me a slovenly, dirty fellow; and if by chance I wear a laced suit, they cry, What, shall such an awkward fellow wear fine clothes?" He continued to sport in this kind of idle buffoonery. He compared the present administration to a ship at sea. As long as the wind was fair, and proper for carrying us to our designed port, the word was "Steady! steady!" but when the wind began to shift and change, the word was necessarily altered to "Thus, thus, and no near." The motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of several other

proposals made by the members in the opposition. Sir John Barnard presented a petition from the druggists, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the insults and oppression to which they were subjected by the excise-laws, and imploring relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city-members, explained the grievous hardships which those traders sustained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the consideration of the whole House. They were opposed by Mr. Winnington, Sir W. Yonge, and other partisans of the ministry; and these skirmishes brought on a general engagement of the two parties, in which every weapon of satire, argument, reason, and truth was wielded against that odious, arbitrary, and oppressive method of collecting the public revenue. Nevertheless, the motion in favor of the sufferers was rejected.

§ XIII. When the Commons deliberated upon the supply, Mr. Andrews, deputy-paymaster of the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land-forces which had been continued since the preceding year. The members in the opposition disputed this small augmentation with too much heat and eagerness. It must be acknowledged, they were by this time irritated into such personal animosity against the minister, that they resolved to oppose all his measures, whether they might or might not be necessary for the safety and advantage of the kingdom. Nor indeed were they altogether blamable for acting on this maxim, if their sole aim was to remove from the confidence and councils of their sovereign a man whose conduct they

BOOK

11,

1733.

thought prejudicial to the interest and liberties of their country. They could not however, prevent the augmentation proposed: but they resolved, if they could not wholly stop the career of the ministry, to throw in such a number of rubs as should at least retard their progress. The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham had been deprived of the regiments they commanded, because they refused to concur in every project of the administration. It was in consequence of their dismissal that Lord Morpeth moved for a bill to prevent any commission-officer, not above the rank of a colonel, from being removed, unless by a court-martial, or by address of either House of parliament. Such an attack on the prerogative might have succeeded in the latter part of the reign of the first Charles; but at this juncture could not fail to miscarry: yet it was sustained with great vigor and address. When the proposal was set aside by the majority, Mr. Sandys moved for an address to the king, desiring to know who advised his Majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham; but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute called for the question, and the motion was carried in the negative. The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons. It was read a first and second time; but when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a powerful opposition, and produced a warm debate that

issued in a question, which, like the former, passed in the negative. A clergyman having insinuated in conversation, that Sir William Milner, baronet, member for York, received a pension from the ministry, the House took cognizance of this report: the clergyman acknowledged at the bar that he might have dropped such a hint from hearsay. The accused member protested, upon his honor, that he never did, or ever would receive, place, pension, gratuity, or reward from the court, either directly or indirectly, for voting in parliament, or upon any other account whatever. The accusation was voted false and scandalous, and the accused taken into custody: but in a few days he was discharged upon his humble petition and his begging pardon of the member whom he had calumniated. The duty upon salt was prolonged for eight years; and a bill passed against stockjobbing.

§ XIV. But the subject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities on both sides to the most vigorous exertion, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, who proposed that a bill should be brought in for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. The arguments for and against septennial parliaments have already been stated. The ministry now insisted upon the increase of papists and Jacobites, which rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government: they challenged the opposition to produce one instance in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people since the septennial act took place; and they

BOOK

II.

1733.

defied the most ingenious malice to prove that his present Majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. Sir John Hynde Cotton affirmed, that in many parts of England the papists had already begun to use all their influence, in favor of those candidates who were recommended by the ministers as members in the ensuing parliament. With respect to his Majesty's conduct, he said he would not answer one word: but as to the grievance introduced since the law was enacted for septennial parliaments, he thought himself more at liberty to declare his sentiments. He asserted that the septennial law itself was an encroachment on the rights of the people: a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial. He observed, that the laws of treason with regard to trials were altered since that period: that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes alledged against him were said to be committed; but by an act of a septennial parliament he might be removed and tried in any place where the crown, or rather the ministry, could find a jury proper for their purpose; where the prisoner could not bring any witness in his justification, without an expense which perhaps his circumstances would not bear. He asked if the riot-act was not an encroachment on the rights of the people? An act by which a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can use, who perhaps subsists by his being in the commission, and may be deprived of that subsistence at the pleasure of his patron, had it in his power to put twenty or thirty of the best

subjects in England to immediate death, without any trial or form but that of reading a proclamation, CHAP.
 " Was not the fatal South-Sea scheme (said he) V.
 " established by the act of a septennial parliament? 1733.
 " And can any man ask, whether that law was
 " attended with any inconvenience? To the glorious
 " catalogue I might have added the late excise-bill, if
 " it had passed into a law; but, thank heaven, the
 " septennial parliament was near expiring before
 " that famous measure was introduced."

§ XV. Sir William Wyndham concluded an excellent speech, that spoke him the unrivaled orator, the uncorrupted Briton and the unshaken patriot, in words to this effect: " Let us suppose a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favorites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood, her honor tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, left his administration should be endangered.

BOOK

II.

1733.

" Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth,
 " the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chief-
 " ly composed of members whose seats are purchas-
 " ed, and whose votes are bought at the expense
 " of the public treasure. In such a parliament, sup-
 " pose all attempts made to inquire into his conduct,
 " or to relieve the nation from the distress which
 " has been entailed upon it by his administration.
 " Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his
 " creatures whom he retains in daily pay, or en-
 " gages in his particular interest, by distributing
 " among them those posts and places which ought
 " never to be bestowed upon any but for the good
 " of the public. Let him plume himself upon his
 " scandalous victory, because he has obtained a
 " parliament like a packed jury ready to acquit him
 " at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering
 " with insolence over all the men of ancient families,
 " over all the men of sense, figure or fortune in the
 " nation: as he had no virtue of his own, ridiculing
 " it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or cor-
 " rupt it in all. With such a minister, and such a
 " parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope
 " will never happen: a prince upon the throne,
 " uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with
 " the inclinations and true interest of his people,
 " weak, capricious, transported with unbounded
 " ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice.
 " I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it
 " possibly may, could any greater curse happen
 " to a nation, than such a prince on the throne,
 " advised, and solely advised, by such a minister,

“ and that minister supported by such a parliament. CHAP.
 “ The nature of mankind cannot be altered by V.
 “ human laws: the existence of such a prince or
 “ such a minister we cannot prevent by act of
 “ parliament; but the existence of such a parlia-
 “ ment I think we may prevent; as it is much
 “ more likely to exist, and may do more mischief
 “ while the septennial law remains in force, than if
 “ it were repealed: therefore, I am heartily for its
 “ being repealed.” Notwithstanding the most
 warm, the most nervous, the most pathetic re-
 monstrances in favor of the motion, the question was
 put, and it was suppressed by mere dint of number.

§ XVI. The triumph of the ministry was still more AN. 1734.
 complete in the success of a message delivered from
 the crown in the latter end of the session, when a
 great many members of the other party had retired
 to their respective habitations in the country. Sir
 Robert Walpole delivered this commission to the
 House, importing, that his Majesty might be enab-
 led to augment his forces, if occasion should require
 such an augmentation, between the dissolution of this
 parliament and the election of another. Such an im-
 portant point, that was said to strike at the founda-
 tion of our liberties, was not tamely yielded; but
 on the contrary, contested with uncommon ardor.
 The motion for taking the message into consid-
 eration was carried in the affirmative; and an address
 presented to the King signifying their compliance
 with his desire. In consequence of a subsequent
 message, they prepared and passed a bill, ena-
 bling his Majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand

B O O K pounds for life on the Princess Royal, as a mark of his paternal favor and affection.

11.
1734.

§ XVII. The opposition in the House of Peers kept pace with that in the House of Commons, and was supported with equal abilities, under the auspices of the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, the Earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The Duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, equivalent to that which had been rejected in the Lower House; and it met with the same fate after a warm dispute. Then Lord Carteret moved for an address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House who advised his majesty to remove the Duke of Bolton and Lord Viscount Cobham from their respective regiments; and what crimes were laid to their charge. This proposal was likewise rejected, at the end of a debate in which the Duke of Argyle observed, that two lords had been removed, but only one soldier lost his commission. Such a great majority of the Scottish representatives had always voted for the ministry since the accession of the late King; and so many of these enjoyed places and preferments in the gift of the crown, that several attempts were made by the lords in the opposition, to prevent for the future the ministerial influence from extending itself to the elections of North-Britain. Accordingly, two motions for this purpose were made by the Earl of Marchmont and the Duke of Bedford; and sustained by the Earls of Chesterfield, Winchelsea, and Stair, Lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurst, and Carteret. They were opposed by the Dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the Earl of Cholmondely,

Cholmondely, Earl Paulet, Lord Hervey, now called up by writ to the House of Peers, and Lord Talbot. The question being put on both, they were of course defeated; and the Earl of Stair was deprived of his regiment of dragoons, after having performed the most signal services to the royal family, and exhausted his fortune in supporting the interests and dignity of the crown. Strenuous protests were entered against the decision of the majority concerning the King's message demanding a power to augment his forces during the recess of parliament; as also against a bill for enabling his Majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking-fund, for the service of the current year. The business of the session being dispatched, the King repaired to the House of Lords on the sixteenth day of April, and having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, took leave of this parliament, with the warmest acknowledgment of their zeal, duty, and affection. It was at first prorogued, then dissolved, and another convoked by the same proclamation. On the fourteenth day of March, the nuptials of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal were solemnized with great magnificence; and this match was attended with addresses of congratulation to his Majesty from different parts of the kingdom.

§ XVIII. The powers at war upon the continent acted with surprising vigor. The Russian and Saxon army invested the city of Dantzick, in hopes of securing the person of King Stanislaus. The town was strong, the garrison numerous, and,

34 HISTORY OF ENGLAND

B O O K animated by the examples of the French and Poles, made a very obstinate defence. For some time they
II. were supplied by sea with recruits, arms, and
1734. ammunition. On the eleventh day of May a re-enforcement of fifteen hundred men was landed from two French ships of war and some transports, under Fort Wechsefmunde, which was so much in want of provisions, that they were not admitted: they, therefore, re-embarked, and sailed back to Copenhagen. But afterwards a larger number were landed in the same place, and attacked the Russian intrenchments, in order to force their way into the city. They were repulsed in this attempt, but retired in good order. At length the Russian fleet arrived, under the command of Admiral Gordon; and now the siege was carried on with great fury. Fort Wechsefmunde was surrendered: the French troops capitulated, and were embarked in the Russian ships, to be conveyed to some port in the Baltick. Stanislaus escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwerder in the Prussian territories. The city of Dantzick submitted to the dominion of Augustus III. King of Poland, and was obliged to defray the expense of the war to the Russian General Count de Munick, who had assumed the command after the siege was begun. The Polish lords at Dantzick signed an act of submission to King Augustus, who, on the tenth day of July, arrived at the convent of Oliva. There a council was held in his presence. The recusant noblemen took the oath which he proposed. Then a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the King set out on his return to Dresden.

§ XIX. On the Rhine the French arms bore down all resistance. The Count de Belleisle besieged and took Traerbach. The Duke of Berwick, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Philipsburgh, while Prince Eugene was obliged to remain on the defensive, in the strong camp at Heilbron, waiting for the troops of the empire. On the twelfth day of June, the Duke of Berwick, in visiting the trenches, was killed by a cannon-ball, and the command devolved upon the Marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the siege with equal vigor and capacity. Prince Eugene being joined by the different re-enforcements he expected, marched towards the French lines; but found them so strong, that he would not hazard an attack; and such precautions taken, that with all his military talents he could not relieve the besieged. At length General Watgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the most honorable conditions. Prince Eugene retired to Heidelberg; and the campaign ended about the beginning of October. The Imperial arms were not more successful in Italy. The Infant Don Carlos had received so many invitations from the Neapolitan nobility, that he resolved to take possession of that kingdom. He began his march in February, at the head of the Spanish forces: published a manifesto, declaring he was sent by his father to relieve the kingdom of Naples from the oppression under which it groaned; and entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the people; while the Count de Visconti, the German viceroy, finding himself

BOOK

II.

1734.

unable to cope with the invaders, thought proper to retire, after having thrown succours into Gaeta and Capua. When he arrived at Nocera, he began to assemble the militia, with intent to form a camp at Barletta. The Count de Montemar marched with a body of forces against this general, and obtained over him a complete victory at Bitonto in Apuglia, on the twenty-fifth of May, when the Imperialists were entirely routed, and a great number of principal officers taken prisoners. Don Carlos being proclaimed, and acknowledged King of Naples, created the Count de Montemar Duke of Bitonto; reduced Gaeta, and all other parts of the kingdom which were garrisoned with Imperial troops; and resolved to subdue the island of Sicily. About twenty thousand troops being destined for this expedition were landed in the road of Solanto in August, under the command of the new Duke of Bitonto, who being favored by the natives, proceeded in his conquests with great rapidity. The people acknowledged Don Carlos as their sovereign, and took arms in support of his government; so that the Imperial troops were driven before them, and the Spaniards possessed the whole kingdom, except Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, when the Infant determined to visit the island in person.

§ XX. While Don Carlos was thus employed in the conquest of Naples and Sicily, the Imperialists were hard pressed in Lombardy by the united forces of France and Piedmont, commanded by the King of Sardinia and the old Marechal Duke de Villars.

In the month of January they undertook the siege of Tortona, which they reduced; while the troops of the Emperor began to pour in great numbers into the Mantuan. In the beginning of May, Count Merci, who commanded them, passed the Po in the face of the allies, notwithstanding all the skill of Villars, obliged him to retreat from the banks of that river, and took the castle of Colorno. The old French general being taken ill, quitted the army, and retired to Turin, where in a little time he died; and the King of Sardinia retiring to the same place, the command of the allied forces devolved upon the Marechal de Coigny. The confederates were posted at Sanguina, and the Imperialists at Sorbola, when the Count de Merci made a motion to San Prospero, as if he intended either to attack the enemy, or take possession of Parma. The Marechal de Coigny forthwith made a disposition for an engagement; and, on the twenty-ninth day of June, the Imperial general having passed Parma, began the attack with great impetuosity. He charged in person at the head of his troops, and was killed soon after the battle began. Nevertheless, the Prince of Wirtemberg assuming the command, both armies fought with great obstinacy, from eleven in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, when the Imperialists retired towards Monte Cirugalo, leaving five thousand men dead on the field of battle, and among these many officers of distinction. The loss of the allies was very considerable, and they reaped no solid fruits from their victory.

§ XXI. The Imperial forces retreated to Reggio,

D 3

BOOK

II.

1734.

and from thence moved to the plains of Carpi, on the right of the Secchia, where they received some re-enforcements : then General Count Konigsegg arriving in the camp, took upon himself the command of the army. His first step was to take post at Quingentolo, by which motion he secured Mirandola, that was threatened with a siege. On the fifteenth of February he forded the river Secchia, and surpris'd the quarters of Mareschal de Broglio, who escaped in his shirt with great difficulty. The French retired with such precipitation, that they left all their baggage behind, and above two thousand were taken prisoners. They posted themselves under Guastalla, where, on the nineteenth day of the month, they were vigorously attacked by the Imperialists, and a general engagement ensued. Konigsegg made several desperate efforts to break the French cavalry, upon which, however, he could make no impression. The infantry on both sides fought with uncommon ardor for six hours, and the field was covered with carnage. At length the Imperial general retreated to Lazara, after having lost above five thousand men, including the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Generals Valpareze and Colminero, with many other officers of distinction : nor was the damage sustained by the French greatly inferior to that of the Germans, who repass'd the Po, and took post on the Banks of the Oglio. The allies crossed the same river, and the Marquis de Maillebois was sent with a detachment to attack Mirandola ; but the Imperialists marching to the relief of the place, compelled him to abandon the enterprize : then he rejoined his army, which

retired under the walls of Cremona, to wait for succours from Don Carlos. So little respect did the French court pay to the British nation, at this juncture, that in the month of November an edict was published in Paris, commanding all the British subjects in France, who were not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or enlist in some of the Irish regiments, on pain of being treated as vagabonds, and sent to the galleys. This edict was executed with the utmost rigor. The prisons of Paris were crowded with the subjects of Great-Britain, who were surpris'd and cut off from all communication with their friends, and must have perished by cold and hunger, had not they been relieved by the active charity of the Jansenists. The Earl of Waldegrave, who then resided at Paris as ambassador from the King of Great-Britain, made such vigorous remonstrances to the French ministry, upon this unheard-of outrage against a nation with which they had been so long in alliance, that they thought proper to set the prisoners at liberty, and publish another edict, by which the meaning of the former was explained away.

§ XXII. While these transactions occurred on the continent, the King of Great-Britain augmented his land-forces; and warm contests were maintained through the whole united kingdom in electing representatives for the new parliament. But in all these struggles the ministerial power predominated; and the new members appeared with the old complexion. The two Houses assembled on the

B O O K fourteenth day of January, and Mr. Onslow was
II. re-elected Speaker. The leaders of both parties in
1734. all debates were the self-same persons who had conducted those of the former parliament; and the same measures were pursued in the same manner. The King, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave them to understand, that he had concerted with the States-General of the United Provinces such measures as were thought most advisable for their common safety, and for restoring the peace of Europe: that they had considered on one side the pressing applications made by the Imperial court both in England and Holland, for obtaining succours against the powers at war with the house of Austria; and on the other side, the repeated professions made by the allies, of their sincere disposition to put an end to the present troubles upon honorable and solid terms: that he and the States-General had concurred in a resolution to employ their joint and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy and happy accommodation; that their good offices were at length accepted; and in a short time a plan would be offered to the consideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a basis for a general negotiation of peace. He told them he had used the power vested in him by the last parliament with great moderation; and concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark of great importance in the present conjuncture. He observed, that whilst many of the principal powers of Europe were actually engaged in a war, Great-Britain must be more or less affected with the consequences; and as the best concerted

measures are liable to uncertainty, the nation ought to be prepared against all events. He, therefore, expressed his hope, that his good subjects would not repine at the necessary means of procuring the blessings of peace and universal tranquillity, or of putting him in a condition to act that part which it might be necessary and incumbent upon him to take. The address of thanks produced a dispute as usual, which ended with an acquiescence in the motion. The House, in a grand committee, on the supply, resolved, That thirty thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; and that the land-forces should be augmented to the number of twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-four effective men. But these resolutions were not taken without dispute and division. The minister's opponents not only reproduced all the reasons which had been formerly advanced against a standing army, but they opposed this augmentation with extraordinary ardor, as a huge stride towards the establishment of arbitrary power. They refuted those fears of external broils on which the ministry pretended to ground the necessity of such an augmentation: and they exposed the weak conduct of the administration, in having contributed to destroy the balance of power, by assisting Spain against the Emperor in Italy, so as to aggrandize the House of Bourbon.

CHAP.

V.

1734

§ XXIII. Sir William Wyndham moved, that the estimate of the navy for the ensuing year might be referred to a select committee. He expressed his surprise, that notwithstanding the vast sums which had been yearly raised, and the long continuance

BOOK

II.

1734.

of the peace, the people had not been quite delivered of any one tax incurred in the preceding war. He said, he could not comprehend how it was possible to find pretences for exposing the nation to such exorbitant charges; and he took notice of some unconscionable articles in the accounts of the navy-debt that lay upon the table. He was seconded by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney: but after some debate the motion was carried in the negative. When the new treaty with Denmark fell under consideration in a grand committee, Mr. H. Walpole moved, that the sum of fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds should be granted to his Majesty, as a subsidy to the Dane, pursuant to the said treaty, for the service of the ensuing year. The demand did not meet with immediate compliance. All the leaders in the opposition exclaimed against the subsidy as unnecessary and unreasonable. They observed, that as the English had no particular interest of their own for inducing them to engage in the present war, but only the danger to which the balance of power might be exposed by that event; and as all the powers of Europe were as much, if not more, interested than the English in the preservation of that balance, should it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without receiving any valuable consideration from Great Britain; but, should the English be always the first to take the alarm upon any rupture, and offer bribes and pensions to all the princes in Europe, the whole charge of preserving that balance would fall upon

Great-Britain: every state would expect a gratification from her, for doing that which it would otherwise be obliged to do for its own preservation: even the Dutch might at last refuse to assist in trimming this balance, unless Britain should submit to make the Grand Pensionary of Holland a pensionary of England, and take a number of their forces into English pay. The debate having had its free course, the question was put, and the motion approved by the majority. The ministry allowed a bill to be brought in for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons: but at the second reading it was rejected upon a division, after a learned debate, in which it appeared that the opposition had gained a valuable auxiliary in the person of Lord Polwarth, son to the Earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of elegant parts, keen penetration, and uncommon vivacity, who spoke with all the fluency and fervor of elocution.

§ XXIV. The minority in the House of Lords were not less vigilant and resolute in detecting and opposing every measure which they thought would redound to the prejudice of their country. But the most remarkable object that employed their attention during this session was a very extraordinary petition, subscribed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the Earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, representing, that undue influence had been used for carrying on the election of the sixteen peers for Scotland. The Duke of Bedford, who delivered their petition to the House, proposed a day for taking it into consideration; and to this they agreed. It

BOOK was afterwards moved, that the consideration of it
 II. should be adjourned to a short day, before which the
 1734. petitioners should be ordered to declare whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them. This affair was of such an unprecedented nature, that the House seemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The partisans of the ministry would have willingly stifled the inquiry in the beginning; but the petitioners were so strenuously supported in their claim to some notice, by the Earls of Chesterfield, Abingdon, and Stafford, the Lords Bathurst and Carteret, that they could not dismiss it at once with any regard to decorum. The order of the House, according to the motion explained above, being communicated by the Lord Chancellor to the petitioners, they waited on him with a declaration, importing, that they did not intend to controvert the election or return of the sixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordships the evidence of such facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the constitution; and might in future elections equally affect the right of the present sixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy. This declaration being repeated to the House, the Duke of Devonshire made a motion, that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the House in writing instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed,

and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty. He was warmly opposed by the country-party, and a long debate ensued, after which the question was carried in favor of the motion, and the order signified to the petitioners. Next day their answer was read to the House to this effect: That as they had no intention to state themselves accusers, they could not take upon them to name particular persons who might have been concerned in those illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordships upon their taking the proper examinations: nevertheless, they did humbly acquaint their lordships, that the petition was laid before them upon information that the list of the sixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by persons in high trust under the crown: that this list was shown to peers, as a list approved by the crown; and was called the King's list, from which there was to be no variation unless to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they should conform to measures: that peers were solicited to vote for this list, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were used to engage peers to vote for this list by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military to themselves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that sums were given for this purpose: that pensions, offices, and releases of debts owing to the crown were actually granted to peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their relations: that on the day of election a battalion of his Majesty's troops was drawn up in the abbey-court

BOOK of Edinburgh, contrary to custom, and without
 11. any apparent cause but that of overawing the electors. This answer gave rise to another violent dispute; but the majority voted it unsatisfactory, and the petition was rejected, though the resolution was clogged with a vigorous protest.

AN. 1735.

§ XXV. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the Earl of Abingdon moved, That although the petition was dismissed, an inquiry might be set on foot touching an affair of such consequence to the liberties of the kingdom. The Earl of Hlay declaring his belief, that no such illegal methods had been practised, the other produced a pamphlet, entitled, *The protests of a great number of noble lords, entered by them at the last election of peers for Scotland.* Exceptions being taken to a pamphlet, as an object unworthy of their notice, Lord Bathurst exhibited an authentic copy of those protests, extracted from the journal of that election, signed by the two principal clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen then attending in the lobby. These were accordingly read, and plainly demonstrated the truth of the allegations contained in the petition. Nothing could be more scandalous, arrogant, and shamefully flagrant than the conduct and deportment of those who acted the part of understrappers to the ministry on this occasion. But all this demonstration, adorned and enforced by the charms and energy of eloquence, was like preaching in a desert. A motion was made for adjourning, and carried in the affirmative: a protest was entered, and the whole affair consigned to oblivion. Divers other motions

were made successively by the lords in the opposition, and rejected by the invincible power of a majority. The uninterrupted success of the ministry did not, however, prevent them from renewing the struggle as often as an opportunity offered. They disputed the continuation of the salt-tax, and bill for enabling the King to apply the sum of one million out of the sinking fund for the service of the current year, though success did not attend their endeavours. They supported with all their might a bill sent up from the Commons, explaining and amending an act of the Scottish parliament, for preventing wronguous imprisonment, and against undue delays in trials. This was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas-Corpus-act; though it did not screen them from oppression. Yet the Earl of Hlay undertook to prove they were on a footing with their neighbours of England in this respect; and the bill was thrown out on a division. The session was closed on the fifteenth of May, when the King, in his speech to both Houses, declared, that the plan of pacification concerted between him and the States-General had not produced the desired effect. He thanked the Commons for the supplies they had granted with such chearfulness and dispatch. He signified his intention to visit his German dominions; and told them he should constitute the Queen regent of the realm in his absence. Immediately after the prorogation his Majesty embarked for Holland, in his way to Hanover.

§ XXVI. By this time the good understanding between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon was

BOOK destroyed by a remarkable incident. The Portuguese ambassador at Madrid having allowed his servants to rescue a criminal from the officers of justice, all the servants concerned in that rescue were dragged from his house to prison, by the Spanish King's order, with circumstances of rigor and disgrace. His Portuguese Majesty being informed of this outrage, ordered reprisals to be made upon the servants of the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon. The two ministers withdrew abruptly to their respective courts. The two monarchs expressed their mutual resentment. The King of Spain assembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Portugal; and his Portuguese Majesty had recourse to the assistance of King George. Don Marcos Antonio d'Alezeveda was dispatched to London, with the character of envoy extraordinary; and succeeded in his commission according to his wish. In a little time after the King's departure from England, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead with a powerful squadron, in order to protect the Portuguese against the Spaniards; and on the ninth day of June arrived at Lisbon, where he was welcomed as a deliverer. Mr. Keene, the British envoy at the court of Spain, had communicated to his Catholic Majesty the resolution of his master to send a powerful squadron to Lisbon, with orders to guard that coast from insults, and secure the Brazil-fleet, in which the merchants of Great-Britain were deeply interested. Don Joseph Patinho, minister of his Catholic Majesty, delivered a memorial to Mr. Keene, representing, that such an expedition would affect the commerce of Spain,

Spain, by intimidating foreign merchants from embarking their merchandise in the flota. But, in all probability, it prevented a rupture between the two crowns, and disposed the King of Spain to listen to terms of accommodation.

§ XXVII. The powers in alliance against the House of Austria having rejected a plan of pacification concerted by the King of Great-Britain and the States-General, Mr. Walpole, ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses, desiring they would, without loss of time, put themselves in a posture of defence, by an augmentation of their forces at sea and land, that they might take such vigorous steps in concert with Great-Britain, as the future conjuncture of affairs might require. But before they would subject themselves to such expense, they resolved to make further trial of their influence with the powers in alliance against the Emperor; and conferences were renewed with the ministers of those allies. The affairs of Poland became more and more unfavorable to the interest of Stanislaus; for though a great number of the Polish nobility engaged in a confederacy to support his claim, and made repeated efforts in his behalf, the Palatine of Kiow submitted to Augustus; and even his brother the primate, after having sustained a long imprisonment; and many extraordinary hardships, was obliged to acknowledge that prince his sovereign. In Italy the arms of the allies still continued to prosper. Don Carlos landed in Sicily, and reduced the whole

VOL. IV.

E

BOOK

II.

1735.

island, almost without opposition; while the Imperialists were forced to abandon all the territories they possessed in Italy, except the Mantuan. The Emperor being equally unable to cope with the French armies on the Rhine, implored succours of the Czarina, who sent thirty thousand men to his assistance. This vigorous interposition, and the success of Augustus in Poland, disposed the court of Versailles to a pacification. A secret negotiation was begun between France and the House of Austria; and the preliminaries were signed without the concurrence or knowledge of Spain, Sardinia, and the maritime powers. In these articles it was stipulated, that France should restore all the conquests she had made in Germany: That the reversion of the dukedom of Tuscany should be vested in the Duke of Lorraine: That Lorraine should be allotted to King Stanislaus; and after his death be united to the crown of France: That the Emperor should possess the Milanese, the Mantuan, and Parma: That the King of Sardinia should enjoy Vigevano and Novara: That Don Carlos should be acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily, and retain the island of Elba with all the Spanish territories on the coast of Tuscany; and that France should guarantee the pragmatic sanction.

§ XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain returned from Hanover to England in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the session of parliament. On this occasion he congratulated them on the near prospect of a general peace in Europe, in consequence of the preliminary articles

in which the Emperor and the King of France had agreed : and of which he had expressed his approbation, as they did not differ in any essential point from the plan of pacification which he and the States-General had offered to the belligerent powers. He told them that he had already ordered a considerable reduction to be made in his forces both by sea and land ; but at the same time observed it would be necessary to continue some extraordinary expense, until a more perfect reconciliation should be established among the several powers of Europe. An address of thanks was unanimously voted, presented, and graciously received. After the House had received several petitions from different counties and gentlemen, complaining of undue influence in elections for members of parliament, it proceeded to consider of the supply, and Sir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thousand seamen should be employed for the service of the ensuing year; the proposal was approved without opposition. But this was not the case with a motion made by Mr. Pulteney, " That the ordinary estimate of the navy should be referred to a select committee." The ministry discouraged all such prying measures : a debate was produced, the house divided, and the motion was rejected. Such was the fate of a motion for raising the supplies within the year, made by Mr. Sandys, and supported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Willimot, and other patriots who demonstrated, that this was a speedy and practicable expedient for discharging the national debt, lowering the interest of money, reducing the price of labor, and encouraging a spirit of commerce.

E 2

- BOOK** § XXIX. The bill for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was again revived. The King was empowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the sinking fund, for the service of the ensuing year, though this power was not easily granted; and the House resolved to lay a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all spirituous liquors, after it had appeared to the committee appointed for that purpose that those spirits were pernicious to the health and morals of the people. To this resolution was added another, which amounted to a total prohibition, namely, that fifty pounds should be yearly paid to his Majesty for a licence to be annually taken out by every person who should vend, barter, or utter any such spirituous liquors. Mr. Walter Plumer, in a well concerted speech, moved for the repeal of some clauses in the test-act: these he represented as a species of persecution, in which protestant dissenters were confounded with the Roman catholics and enemies to the establishment. He was sustained by Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote; but Sir Robert Walpole was joined by Mr. Shippen against the motion as dangerous to the established church: and the question being put, it was carried in the negative. When Sir Joseph Jekyl presented to the House, according to order, a bill founded on the resolutions they had taken against spirituous liquors, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his Majesty's command, that as the alterations proposed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all spirituous liquors might in a great degree affect some part of the civil - list - revenues, his
- 11.
- 4x. 1736.

Majesty, for the sake of remedying so great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did consent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be settled and appropriated in lieu of his interest in the said duties. The bill was read a second time, and consigned to a committee of the whole House; but that for limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons was thrown out at the second reading. Petitions against the bill touching the retail of spirituous liquors were presented by the traders to the British sugar-colonies, by the merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, representing the hardships to which they would be exposed by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and spirits distilled from melasses. In consequence of these remonstrances, a mitigating clause was inserted, in favor of the composition known by the name of punch; and distillers were permitted to exercise any other employment. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil-list by this bill, which at length passed through the House, though not without reiterated disputes and warm altercation. Violent opposition was likewise made to a bill for the relief of the people called Quakers, who offered a petition, representing, that though from motives of conscience they refused the payment of tithes, church-rates, oblations, and ecclesiastical dues, they were exposed to grievous sufferings by prosecution in the Exchequer, ecclesiastical, and other courts, to the imprisonment of their persons, and the ruin of them and their families.

CHAP.

V.

1714

BOOK. A bill being prepared for their relief, was read and printed : then petitions were preferred against it by the clergy of Middlesex, and of many other parts of the kingdom. Counsel was heard in behalf of these petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the lords.

II.
1736.

§ XXX. In the month of February the King had sent two members of the privy-council to the Prince of Wales, with a message, proposing a marriage between his royal highness and the Princess of Saxe-Gotha. The proposal being agreeable to the Prince, the marriage was celebrated on the twenty-seventh day of April. Upon this occasion Mr. Pulteney moved for an address of congratulation to his Majesty, and was supported by Mr. George Lyttelton and Mr. William Pitt, who seized this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the Prince of Wales and his amiable consort. These two young members soon distinguished themselves in the House by their eloquence and superior talents. The attention of the House was afterwards converted to a bill for the preventing of smuggling; and another for explaining the act for the more effectual preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to serve in parliament. Both made their way through the Lower House, and were sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The number of land-forces voted for the service of the current year was reduced to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four effective men. The supplies were raised by the malt-tax and land-tax, at two shillings in the

pound, additional duties on mum, cider, and perry, stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and by an act empowering his Majesty to borrow six hundred thousand pounds of the sinking fund. In this session the parliament repealed the old statutes of England and Scotland against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil spirits. The Commons likewise prepared a bill to restrain the disposition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. Against this measure petitions were presented by the two universities, the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and divers hospitals that subsisted by charitable donations. In favor of the universities and colleges a particular exempting clause was inserted. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. Among the acts passed in this session, was one for naturalizing her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales; and another for building a bridge across the Thames from New-Palace-yard, in the city of Westminster, to the opposite shore in the county of Surrey. The points chiefly debated in the House of Lords were the address of thanks for his Majesty's speech, the Mortmain-bill, the Quakers-bill, which was thrown out, and that for the prevention of smuggling, which did not pass without division and protest. On the twentieth day of May the King closed the session with a speech, in which he told both Houses, that a further convention touching the execution of the preliminaries had been made and communicated to him by the Emperor and Most

CHAP

V.

1736.

BOOK Christian King : and that negotiations were carrying
II. on by the several powers engaged in the late war,
1716. in order to settle a general pacification. He expressed great concern at seeing such seeds of dissatisfaction sown among his people : he protested it was his desire, and should be his care, to preserve the present constitution in church and state, as by law established : he recommended harmony and mutual affection among all protestants of the nation, as the great security of that happy establishment ; and signified his intention to visit his German dominions. Accordingly, the parliament was no sooner prorogued than he set out for Hanover, after having appointed the Queen regent in his absence.

§ XXXI. Such a degree of licentiousness prevailed over the whole nation, that the kingdom was filled with tumult and riots, which might have been prevented by proper regulations of the civil government in a due execution of the laws. The most remarkable of these disturbances happened at Edinburgh, on the seventh day of September. John Porteous, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had at the execution of a smuggler been provoked by some insults from the populace to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire with shot among the crowd ; by which precipitate order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death ; but the Queen, as guardian of the realm, thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve.

The common people of Edinburgh repented this lenity shown to a criminal who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that pardons had been granted to divers military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think those were encouragements to oppression: they were fired by a national jealousy: they were stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been murdered; and they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admission of the troops that were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town-guards: they broke open the prison-doors, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dier's pole, quietly dispersed to their several habitations. This exploit was performed with such conduct and deliberation as seemed to be the result of a plan formed by some persons of consequence: it, therefore, became the object of a very severe inquiry.

§ XXXII. During this summer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Russians, which last reduced the city of Asoph on the Black-Sea, and over-ran the greatest part of Crim-Tartary. The Czarina declared war against the Ottoman Porte, because the Tartars of the Crimea had made incursions upon her frontiers; and when she complained

B O O K of these disorders to the Vizier, she received no satisfaction: besides, a large body of Tartars had, by order
 11. of that minister, marched through the Russian provinces in despite of the Empress, and committed
 1736. terrible havoc in their route. The Emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offensive and defensive, which he had many years before concluded with the Czarina. Yet, before he declared himself, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the Sultan, who was very well disposed to peace; but the Czarina insisted upon her retaining Asoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as dishonorable to the Ottoman empire, the court of Vienna began to make preparations for war. By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the Emperor and France. The Duke of Lorraine had espoused the Emperor's eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he succeeded to Tuscany. Don Carlos was crowned King of Sicily; Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland; and Augustus was universally acknowledged sovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and accepted by the diet of the empire: the King of Spain sent orders for his troops to evacuate Tuscany; and the provinces in Italy yielded to the house of Austria. Prince Eugene, who had managed the interests of the Emperor on this occasion, did not live to see the happy fruits of his negotiation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind

him the character of an invincible hero and consummate politician. He was not long survived by Count Staremberg, another Imperial General, who ranked next to the prince in military reputation. About the same time Great-Britain sustained a national loss in the death of Lord Chancellor Talbot, who, by his worth, probity, and acquired accomplishments, had dignified the great office to which he had been raised. He died universally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two; and was succeeded on the bench by Lord Hardwicke.

§ XXXIII. The King being indisposed in consequence of having been fatigued by a very tempestuous passage from Holland, the parliament was prorogued from the twenty-first day of January to the first of February, and then the session was opened by commission. The Lord Chancellor, as one of the peers authorized by this commission, made a speech in his Majesty's name to both Houses. With respect to foreign affairs, he told them that the respective acts of cession being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and possession of the several countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and disposition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-establishing the general tranquillity was far advanced: that, however, common prudence called upon them to be very attentive to the final conclusion of the new settlement. He said his Majesty could not without surprise and concern observe the many contrivances and attempts carried, on in various shapes,

BOOK and in different parts of the nation, tumultuously to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. He observed, that the consideration of the height to which these audacious practices might rise, if not timely suppressed, afforded a melancholy prospect, and required particular attention, lest they should affect private persons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole. After the commons had agreed to an address, and heard counsel on some controverted elections, they proceeded to take the supply into consideration. They voted ten thousand men for the sea-service. They continued for the land-service the same number they had maintained in times of tranquility, amounting to seventeen thousand seven hundred and four; but this measure was not adopted without opposition: the money was raised by the land and malt-taxes, reenforced with one million granted out of the sinking fund.

§ XXXIV. The chief subject of contention that presented itself in the course of this session, was a motion which Mr. Pulteney made for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to settle one hundred thousand pounds a-year upon the Prince of Wales. He represented that such provision was conformable to the practice of ancient times: that what he proposed had been enjoyed by his present Majesty in the life-time of his father; and that a settlement of this nature was reasonable and necessary to ascertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. The motion was vigorously opposed

by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative ; as an officious intermeddling in the King's family-affairs; and as an effort to set his Majesty and the Prince at variance. But a misunderstanding, it seems, had already happened in the royal family. The minister in the midst of his harangue told the House, by his Majesty's command, that on the preceding day the King had sent a message to the Prince by several noblemen of the first quality, importing, that his Majesty had given order for settling a jointure upon the Princess of Wales, suitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in a proper time lay before parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highness had not thought fit, by any application to his Majesty, to desire that his allowance of fifty thousand pounds might be rendered less precarious, the King to prevent the bad consequences which he apprehended might follow from the undutiful measures which his Majesty was informed the Prince had been advised to pursue, would grant to his royal highness, for his Majesty's life, the said fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be issued out of the civil-list-revenues, over and above the prince's revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, which his Majesty thought a very competent allowance, considering his own numerous issue, and the great expense which did and must necessarily attend an honorable provision for the whole royal family: that the Prince, by a verbal answer, desired their lordships to lay him with all humility at his Majesty's feet: to

CHAP.

V.

1736.

BOOK. assure him that he did, and ever should retain the utmost duty for his royal person: that he was very thankful for any instance of his Majesty's goodness to him or to the Princess, and particularly for his Majesty's gracious intention of settling a jointure upon her royal highness; but, that as to the message, the affair was now out of his hands, and, therefore, he could give no answer to it; that his royal highness afterwards used many dutiful expressions towards his Majesty; adding, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, and I am sorry for it;" or words to that effect. Sir Robert Walpole then endeavoured to demonstrate, that the annual sum of fifty thousand pounds was as much as the King could afford to allow for the Prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad consequences that might ensue, if the son should be rendered altogether independent of the father.

§ XXXV. These suggestions did not pass unanswered. Sir Robert Walpole had asserted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a Prince of Wales; and that in the case of Richard II. who, upon the death of his father the Black Prince, was created Prince of Wales, in consequence of an address or petition from parliament, that measure was in all probability directed by the King himself. In answer to this assertion it was observed, that probably the King would not have been so forward in creating his grandson Prince of Wales, if he had not been forced into this step by his parliament; for Edward in his old age fell into a sort of love-dotage and gave himself entirely up to

the management of his mistress, Alice Pierce, and his second son, the Duke of Lancaster, a circumstance that raised a most reasonable jealousy in the Black Prince, at that time on his death-bed, who could not but be anxious about the safety and right of his only son, whom he found he was soon to leave a child in the hands of a doting grandfather, and an ambitious, aspiring uncle. The supporters of the motion observed, that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the Prince's yearly expense, without allotting one shilling for acts of charity and munificence; and that the several deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced it to forty-three thousand pounds. They affirmed, that his whole income, including the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, did not exceed fifty-two thousand pounds a-year, though, by his Majesty's own regulation, the expense of the Prince's household amounted to sixty-three thousand. They proved, that the produce of the civil-list exceeded nine hundred thousand pounds, a sum above one hundred thousand pounds a-year more than was enjoyed by his late Majesty, and that in the first year of the late King the whole expense of his household and civil government did not much exceed four hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year. They observed, that the parliament added one hundred and forty thousand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of secret-service-money; and allowed one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of the Prince of Wales: that the article

B O O K. of secret-service-money had prodigiously increased in the late reign : by an account which happened to be laid before the parliament , it appeared that vast sums of money had been given for purposes which nobody understood , and to persons whom nobody knew. In the beginning of the following session several members proposed that this extraordinary account should be taken into consideration ; but the inquiry was warded off by the other party , who declared that the parliament could not examine any account which had been presented to a former session. The debate was fierce and long ; and ended in a division , by which the motion was rejected. A motion of the same nature was made by Lord Carteret in the House of Peers , and gave rise to a very keen dispute, maintained by the same arguments , and issuing in the same termination.

§ XXXVI. The next remarkable contest was occasioned by a motion of Sir R. Walpole, who proposed that the sum of one million should be granted to his Majesty , towards redeeming the like sum of the increased capital of the South-Sea company , commonly called South-Sea annuities. Several members argued for the expediency of applying this sum to the payment of the debt due to the Bank , as part of that encumbrance was saddled with an interest of six per cent. whereas the interest paid for the other sums that constituted the public debt did not exceed four per cent. Many plausible arguments were offered on both sides of the question ; and at length the motion was carried in the affirmative. The House
having

having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the national debt, Sir John Barnard made a motion, for enabling his Majesty to raise money either by the sale of annuities, or by borrowing at an interest not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming the South-Sea annuities; and that such of the annuitants as should be inclined to subscribe their respective annuities, should be preferred to all others. He said, that even those public securities which bore an interest of three per cent. only were sold at a premium in Change-Alley: he was, therefore, persuaded, that all those who were willing to give a premium for a three per cent. security would gladly lend their money to the government at the same interest, should books of subscription be opened for that purpose, with an assurance that no part of the principal should be paid off for fourteen years. He expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from a reduction of interest. From easy and obvious calculations he inferred, that in a very little time the interest upon all the South-Sea annuities would be reduced from four to three per cent. without any danger to public credit, or breach of public faith: that then the produce of the sinking fund would amount to fourteen hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be applied only towards redeeming the capital of the several trading companies: he proved that this measure would bring every one of them so much within the power of parliament, that they would be glad to accept of three per cent. interest on any reasonable terms; in which case the sinking fund would rise to one

VOL. IV.

F

BOOK million six hundred thousand pounds per annum.

II. Then the parliament might venture to annihilate
1716 one half of it, by freeing the people from taxes upon coals, candles, soap, leather, and other such impositions as lay heavy upon the poor laborers and manufacturers; the remaining part of the sinking fund might be applied towards the discharge of those annuities and public debts which bore an interest of three per cent. only, and afterwards towards diminishing the capitals of the several trading companies till the term of fourteen years should be expired; then the sinking fund would again amount to above a million yearly, which would be sufficient for paying them off, and freeing the nation entirely from all its incumbrances. This salutary scheme was violently opposed by Alderman Heathcote, and other partisans of the ministry: yet all their objections were refuted; and in order to defeat the project, they were obliged to have recourse to artifice. Mr. Winnington, moved that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea annuitants, should be comprehended. Sir John Barnard demonstrated, that it might be easy for the government to borrow money at three per cent. sufficient for paying off such of the proprietors of four-and-twenty millions as were not willing to accept of that interest, but it would be extremely difficult to borrow enough to satisfy the proprietors of four-and-forty millions, who might chuse to have their principal rather than such an interest. Nevertheless, resolutions were founded on this and other alterations of the original scheme; and a bill was

immediately prepared. It produced many other debates, and was at last postponed by dint of ministerial influence. The same venerable patriot who projected this scheme moved, that as soon as the interest of all the national redeemable debt should be reduced to three per cent. the House would take off some of the heavy taxes which oppressed the poor and the manufacturers : but this motion was rejected by the majority.

CHAP.
V.

§ XXXVII. The last disputes of this session were excited by a bill sent down from the Lords for punishing the magistrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteous. In the beginning of the session Lord Carteret recapitulated the several tumults and riots which had lately happened in different parts of the kingdom. He particularly insisted upon the atrocious murder of Captain Porteous, as a flagrant insult upon the government, and a violation of the public peace, so much the more dangerous, as it seemed to have been concerted and executed with deliberation and decency. He suspected that some citizens of Edinburgh had been concerned in the murder, not only from this circumstance, but likewise because, notwithstanding the reward of two hundred pounds, which had been offered by proclamation for the discovery of any person who acted in that tragedy, not one individual had as yet been detected. He seemed to think that the magistrates had encouraged the riot, and that the city had forfeited its charter; and he proposed a minute inquiry into the particulars of the affair. He was

AN. 1737.

B O O K 11. 1737. seconded by the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Ilay: though this last nobleman differed in opinion from him with respect to the charter of the city, which, he said, could not be justly forfeited by the fault of the magistracy. The Lords resolved, That the magistrates and other persons from whom they might obtain the necessary information concerning this riot should be ordered to attend; and, That an address should be presented, to his Majesty, desiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of Captain Porteous might be submitted to the perusal of the House. These documents being accordingly examined, and all the witnesses arrived, including three Scottish judges, a debate arose about the manner in which these last should be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the woolfacks. Some Scottish lords asserted, that they had a right to be seated next to the judges of England: but after a long debate this claim was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. A bill was brought in to disable Alexander Wilson, Esquire, lord-provost of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great - Britain; for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson; for abolishing the guard of that city; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-Bow-Port, so as to open a communication between the city and the suburbs, in which the King's troops are quartered. The Duke of Argyle, in arguing against this bill, said he could not think of a proceeding more harsh or

unprecedented than the present, as he believed there was no instance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation, for such he called a proceeding by a bill *ex post facto*, falling upon any single person, far less upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior courts of justice: for this reason he observed, that if the Lord-Provost and citizens of Edinburgh should suffer in the terms of the present bill, they would suffer by a cruel, unjust, and fantastical proceeding; a proceeding of which the worst use might be made, if ever the nation should have the misfortune to fall under a partial, self-interested administration. He told them he sat in the parliament of Scotland when that part of the treaty of Union relating to the privileges of the royal burghs was settled on the same footing as religion; that is, they were made unalterable by any subsequent parliament of Great-Britain. Notwithstanding the eloquence and warmth of his remonstrance, the bill was sent down to the House of Commons, where it produced a violent contest. The Commons set on foot a severe scrutiny into the particular circumstances that preceded and attended the murder of Porteous: from the examination of the witnesses it appeared that no freeman or citizen of Edinburgh was concerned in the riot, which was chiefly composed of country-people, excited by the relations of some unhappy persons whom Porteous and his men had slain at the execution of the smuggler; and these were assisted by prentice-boys, and the lowest class of vagabonds that happened to be at Edinburgh:

C H A P.

V.

1727.

B O O K. that the Lord-Provost had taken all the precautions
II. to prevent mischief that his reflection suggested:
1737. that he even exposed his person to the rage of the
 multitude, in his endeavours to disperse them ; and
 that if he had done amiss, he erred from want of
 judgment, rather than from want of inclination to
 protect the unhappy Porteous. It likewise appeared
 that Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh
 had gone in person to General Moyle, commander
 of the forces in North-Britain, informed him of the
 riot, implored his immediate assistance, and promi-
 sed to conduct his troops into the city ; and that
 his suit was rejected, because he could not produce
 a written order from the magistracy, which he
 neither could have obtained in such confusion, nor
 ventured to carry about his person through the
 midst of an enraged populace. The Scottish mem-
 bers exerted themselves with uncommon vivacity
 in defence of their capital. They were joined by
 Sir John Barnard, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Shippen,
 and Mr. Oglethorpe. Lord Polwarth declared,
 that if any gentleman would show where one
 argument in the charge against the Lord Provost
 and the city of Edinburgh had been proved,
 he would that instant give his vote for the
 commitment of the bill. He said, if gentlemen
 would lay their hands upon their heads, and ask
 themselves, whether they would have voted in
 this manner had the case of Edinburgh been that
 of the city of Bristol, York, or Norwich,
 he was persuaded they would have required,
 that every tittle of the charge against them

should have been fully and undeniably proved. Some amendments and mitigations being inserted in the bill, it passed the House, was sent back to the Lords, who agreed to the alterations, and then received the royal assent.

CHAP.
V.
1737.

§ XXXVIII. The next effort of the minister was obliquely levelled at the liberty of the press, which it was much for his interest to abridge. The errors of his conduct, the mystery of that corruption which he had so successfully reduced to a system, and all the blemishes of his administration, had been exposed and ridiculed, not only in political periodical writings produced by the most eminent hands, but likewise in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success among the people. He either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service: he, therefore, employed a set of wretched authors, void of understanding and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his ministry, and answered the animadversions of his antagonists. The match was so extremely unequal, that, instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt; and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation. He resolved to seize the first opportunity to choke those canals through which the torrent of censure had flowed upon his character. The manager of a play-house communicated to him a manuscript farce, entitled, *The Golden Rump*, which was fraught with treason and abuse upon the government, and had been presented to

F 4

BOOK

II.

1737.

the stage for exhibition. This performance was produced in the House of Commons. The minister descanted upon the insolence, the malice, the immorality, and the seditious calumny, which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. A bill was brought in to limit the number of play-houses; to subject all dramatic writers to the inspection of the Lord-Chamberlain; and to compel them to take out a licence for every production before it could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, this bill passed through both Houses with extraordinary dispatch, and obtained the royal sanction. In this debate the Earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will ever endear his character to all the friends of genius and literature, to all those who are warmed with zeal for the liberties of their country. "Our stage" said he "ought certainly to be kept within due bounds; but, for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons punished for things less criminal than some pieces which have been lately represented: a new law must, therefore, be unnecessary; and in the present case it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands of liberty. One of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is

" liberty. But every good in this life has its allay
 " of evil. Licentiousness is the allay of liberty. It
 " is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck
 " upon the eye of the political body, which I can
 " never touch but with a gentle, with a trem-
 " bling hand, lest I destroy the body; lest I
 " injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear.
 " If the stage becomes at any time licentious, if
 " a play appears to be a libel upon the government,
 " or upon any particular man, the King's courts
 " are open: the law is sufficient to punish the
 " offender. If poets and players are to be restrained
 " let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the
 " known laws of their country; if they offend,
 " let them be tried as every Englishman ought
 " to be, by God and their country. Do
 " not let us subject them to the arbitrary
 " will and pleasure of any one man. A power
 " lodged in the hands of a single man to
 " judge and determine without limitation,
 " control, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown
 " to our laws, inconsistent with our constitution.
 " It is a higher, a more absolute power than we
 " trust even to the King himself; and, therefore,
 " I must think we ought not to vest any such
 " power in his Majesty's lord-chamberlain." His
 arguments had no effect, though the House ad-
 mired his elocution; and the play-house-bill
 passed into a law. On the twenty-first day of
 June the King made a short speech to both
 Houses, and the Lord Chancellor prorogued the
 parliament.

C H A P. VI.

- § I. *The Russians take Oczakow.* II. *Death of Gaston de Medicis, Duke of Tuscany.* III. *Death of Caroline, Queen consort of England.* IV. *Dispute in parliament about the standing army.* V. *Spanish depredations.* VI. *Motives of the ministry for avoiding a war.* VII. *Address to the King on the subject of the depredations.* VIII. *Bill for securing the trade of his Majesty's subjects in America.* IX. *Debates in the House of Lords.* X. *Birth of Prince George.* Admiral Haddock sails with a squadron to the Mediterranean. XI. *Progress of the war against the Turks.* XII. *Dispute and rupture between Hanover and Denmark.* XIII. *Sir Robert Walpole extols the convention in the House of Commons.* XIV. *Motion for an address, that the representations, letters, &c. relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House.* XV. *Petitions against the convention.* XVI. *Substance of that agreement.* XVII. *Debate in the House of Commons on the convention.* XVIII. *Secession of the chief members in the opposition.* XIX. *Debate in the House of Lords upon an address to his Majesty touching the convention.* XX. *Message from the throne touching a subsidy to Denmark, and a power to augment the forces of the kingdom.* XXI. *Parliament prorogued.* XXII. *The King of Spain*

publishes a manifesto. XXIII. The Emperor and Czarina conclude a peace with the Turks. XXIV. Preparations for war in England. XXV. Apology in the House of Commons for the seceding members. XXVI. Pension-bill revived, and lost. XXVII. Porto-Bello taken by Admiral Vernon. XXVIII. Hard frost. XXIX. Marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Hesse. XXX. Strong armament sent to the West-Indies. XXXI. Death of the Emperor and Czarina. XXXII. Proceedings in parliament. XXXIII. Seamen's bill. XXXIV. Discontents against the ministry. XXXV. Motion for removing Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's councils and presence for ever. XXXVI. Debate on the mutiny-bill. XXXVII. Proceedings in the House of Lords. XXXVIII. Close of the last session of this parliament.

§ I. **A** Congress had been opened at Niemerow in Poland, to compromise the differences between the Czarina and the Grand Signor: but this proving ineffectual, the Emperor declared war against the Turks, and demanded assistance from the diet of the empire. He concerted the operations of the campaign with the Empress of Muscovy. It was agreed, that the Imperialists, under Count Seckendorf should attack Widin in Servia, while the Russians, commanded by Count de Munich, should penetrate to the Ukraine, and besiege Oczakow, on the Boristhenes. They accordingly advanced against this place, which was garrisoned by twenty-thousand

CHAP.

VI.

1737

BOOK men; and on the side of the Boristhenes defended
II. by eighteen gallies. The Muscovites carried on their
1737. approaches with such impetuosity and perseverance, that the Turks were terrified at their valor, and in a few days capitulated. Among those who signalized themselves by uncommon marks of prowess in these attacks, was General Keith, now field-marshal in the Prussian service, who was dangerously wounded on this occasion. Mean while Count Seckendorf, finding it impossible to reduce Widin without a squadron of ships on the Danube, turned his arms against Nissa, which was surrendered to him on the eight-and-twentieth day of July: but this was the farthest verge of his good fortune. The Turks attacked the posts which the Imperialists occupied along the Danube. They took the fort of Padudil, burned the town of Ilas in Walachia, and plundered the neighbouring villages. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, who had invested Bagnalack in Bosnia, was defeated, and obliged to repass the Saave. Count Seckendorf was recalled to Vienna; and the command of the army devolved upon Count Philippi. Count Kevenhuller was obliged to retreat from Servia; and Nissa was retaken by the Mussulmen. The conferences at Niemerow were broken off; and the Turkish plenipotentiaries returned to Constantinople.

§ II. The kingdom of Poland now enjoyed the most perfect repose under the dominion of Augustus. Ferdinand, the old Duke of Courland, dying without issue, the succession was disputed by the Teutonic order and the kingdom of Poland, while the states

of Courland claimed a right of election, and sent deputies to Peterburgh, imploring the protection of the Czarina. A body of Russian troops immediately entered that country: and the states elected the Count de Biron, high-chamberlain to the Empress of Muscovy. The Elector of Cologne, as grand master of the Teutonic order, protested against this election; but the King of Poland agreed to it, on certain conditions settled at Dantzick with the commissaries of the new Duke and those of the Czarina. In the month of July, John Gaston de Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, died at Florence; and the Prince de Craon took possession of his territories, in the name of the Duke of Lorraine, to whom the Emperor had already granted the eventual investiture of that duchy.

CHAP.
VI.
1737.

§ III. In England the attention of the public was attracted by an open breach in the royal family. The Princess of Wales had advanced to the very last month of her pregnancy before the King and Queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-court to the palace of St. James's, when her labor-pains were supposed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a princess in about two hours after her arrival. The King being apprized of this event, sent a message by the Earl of Essex to the Prince, expressing his displeasure at the conduct of his royal highness, as an indignity offered to himself and the Queen. The Prince deprecated his

BOOK

II.

1737.

Majesty's anger in several submissive letters, and implored the Queen's mediation. The Princess joined her entreaties to those of his royal highness, but all their humility and supplication proved ineffectual. The King, in another message sent by the Duke of Grafton, observed, that the Prince had removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of his Majesty's residence, in expectation of her labor; and both times, on his return, industriously concealed from the knowledge of the King and Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair: that at last, without giving any notice to their Majesties, he had precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton-court, in a condition not to be named: that the whole tenor of his conduct, for a considerable time, had been so entirely void of all real duty to the King, that his Majesty had reason to be highly offended with him. He gave him to understand, that until he should withdraw his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to his Majesty and the Queen, and return to his duty, he should not reside in the palace: he, therefore, signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the Princess. In obedience to this order, the Prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his Majesty's favor, which, however, he could not retrieve. Whatever might have

been his design in concealing so long from the King and Queen the pregnancy of the Princess, and afterwards hurrying her from place to place in such a condition, to the manifest hazard of her life, his Majesty had certainly cause to be offended at this part of his conduct: though the punishment seems to have been severe, if not rigorous; for he was not even admitted into the presence of the Queen his mother, to express his duty to her, in her last moments, to implore her forgiveness, and receive her last blessing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princess of uncommon sagacity, and as a pattern of conjugal virtue.

§ IV. The King opened the session of parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, with a short speech, recommending the dispatch of the public business with prudence and unanimity. Each House presented a warm address of condolence on the Queen's death, with which he seemed to be extremely affected. Though the House of Commons unanimously sympathized with the King in his affliction, the minister still met with contradiction in some of his favorite measures. One would imagine that all the arguments for and against a standing army in time of peace had been already exhausted; but, when it was moved that the same number of land-forces which they had voted in the preceding year should be continued in pay for the ensuing year, the dispute was renewed with surprising vivacity, and produced some reasons which

BOOK

II.

1737.

had not been suggested before. The adherents of the minister fairly owned that if the army should be disbanded, or even considerably reduced, they believed the Tory interest would prevail; that the present number of forces was absolutely necessary to maintain the peace of the kingdom, which was filled with clamor and discontent, as well as to support the Whig-interest; and that they would vote for keeping up four times the number, should it be found expedient for that purpose. The members in the opposition replied, that this declaration was a severe satire on the ministry, whose conduct had given birth to such a spirit of discontent. They said it was in effect a tacit acknowledgment, that what they called the Whig-interest was no more than an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the administration by indirect methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and depended for support upon a military power, by which the people in general were overawed, and consequently enslaved. They affirmed, that the discontent of which the ministry complained was in a great measure owing to that very standing army, which perpetuated their taxes, and hung over their heads, as the instruments of arbitrary power and oppression. Lord Polwarth explained the nature of Whig-principles, and demonstrated that the party which distinguished itself by this appellation no longer retained the maxims by which the Whigs were originally characterized. Sir John Hynde Cotton, who spoke with the courage and freedom of an old English baron, declared he
never

never knew a member of that House who acted on true Whig-principles vote for a standing army in time of peace. "I have heard of Whigs (said he) who opposed all unlimited votes of credit: I have heard of Whigs who looked upon corruption as the greatest curse that could befall any nation: I have heard of Whigs who esteemed the liberty of the press to be the most valuable privilege of a free people, and triennial parliaments as the greatest bulwark of their liberties; and I have heard of a Whig-administration which has resented injuries done to the trade of the nation, and revenged insults offered to the British flag."—The ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

§ V. ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great-Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been lately concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant-ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England.

BOOK They had seized and detained a great number of
II. British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and
1737. confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity. Repeated memorials were presented to the court of Spain, by the British ambassador at Madrid. He was amused with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cédulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Not but that the Spaniards had reason to complain, in their turn, of the illicit commerce which the English traders from Jamaica and other islands carried on with their subjects on the continent of South-America: though this could not justify the depredations and cruelties which the commanders of the guardacostas had committed, without provocation or pretence.

§ VI. The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages: the nation was fired with resentment, and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war would involve him in such difficulties as must of necessity endanger his administration. The treasure which he now employed for domestic purposes must in that case be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine on which he had raised his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his

person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by dint of memorials and negociations, in which he betrayed his own fears to such a degree as animated the Spaniards to persist in their depredations, and encouraged the court of Madrid, to disregard the remonstrances of the British ambassador. But his apprehension of war did not proceed from Spain only: the two branches of the house of Bourbon were now united by politics, as well as by consanguinity; and he did not doubt, that in case of a rupture with Spain, they would join their forces against Great-Britain. Petitions were delivered to the House by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief of the parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole House; and an order was made to admit the petitioners, if they should think fit to be heard by themselves or by counsel. Sir John Barnard moved for an address to the King, that all the memorials and papers relating to the Spanish depredations should be laid before the House; and this, with some alteration proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, was actually presented. In compliance with the request, an enormous multitude of letters and memorials was produced.

§ VII. The House, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and examine evidence; by which it appeared that amazing acts of

- BOOK** wanton cruelty and injustice had been perpetrated
- 11.** by Spaniards on the subjects of Great-Britain.
- 1737.** Mr. Pulteney expatiated upon these circumstances of barbarity. He demonstrated, from treaties, the right of the British traders to the logwood of Campeachy, and to the salt of Tortugas: he exposed the pusillanimity of the minister, and the futility of his negotiations: he moved for such resolutions as would evince the resentment of an injured nation, and the vigor of a British parliament. These were warmly combated by Sir Robert Walpole, who affirmed they would cramp the ministers in their endeavours to compromise these differences: that they would frustrate their negotiations, intrench upon the King's prerogative, and precipitate the nation into an unnecessary and expensive war. Answers produced replies, and a general debate ensued. A resolution was reported: but the question being put for recommitting it, was carried in the negative. The House, however, agreed to an address, beseeching his Majesty to use his endeavours to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects, to convince the court of Spain that his Majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on, to the dishonor of his crown, and to the ruin of his trading subjects; and assuring him, that in case his royal and friendly instances with the Catholic King should miscarry, the House would effectually support his Majesty in taking such measures as honor and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue. To this address the King made a favorable answer.

§ VIII. The next important subject on which both sides exercised their talents, was a bill prepared and brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual securing the trade of his Majesty's subjects in America. This was no other than the revival of part of two acts passed in the reign of Queen Anne, by which the property of all prizes taken from the enemy was vested in the captors: while the sovereign was empowered to grant commissions or charters to any persons or societies, for taking any ships, goods, harbours, lands, or fortifications of the nation's enemies in America, and for holding and enjoying the same as their own property and estate for ever. The ministry endeavoured to evade the discussion of this bill, by amusing the House with other business, until an end should be put to the session. A mean artifice was practised with this view; and some severe altercation passed between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. At length the bill was read, and gave rise to a very long and warm contest, in which the greatest orators of both sides found opportunities to display their eloquence and satire. M. Pulteney defended the bill with all the ardor of paternal affection; but, notwithstanding his warmest endeavours, it was rejected upon a division.

§ IX. When the mutiny-bill was sent up to the House of Lords, a long debate arose upon the number of troops voted for the ensuing year. Lord Carteret explained the situation of affairs, in almost every nation of Europe, with great conciseness and precision. He demonstrated the improbability of a rupture between Great-Britain and any power

BOOK II. 1738. against which a land-army could be of any service. He examined the domestic circumstances of the nation ; and proved , that whatever discontents there might be in the kingdom, there was little or no disaffection; and no seeming design to overturn or disturb the government. In answer to an argument, that such a number of regular forces was necessary for preventing or quelling tumults , and for enabling the civil magistrate to execute the laws of his country, he expressed his hope that he should never see the nation reduced to such unfortunate circumstances : he said a law which the civil power was unable to execute must either be itself oppressive , or such a one as afforded a handle for oppression. In arguing for a reduction of the forces, he took notice of the great increase of the national expense. He observed , that before the Revolution, the people of England did not raise above two millions for the whole of the public charge ; but now what was called the current expense, for which the parliament annually provided, exceeded that sum, besides the civil list, the interest due to the public creditors , and the sinking-fund , which added together, composed a burden of six millions yearly. The Earl of Chesterfield, on the same subject, affirmed that slavery and arbitrary power were the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are rivetted upon a free people. They may be secretly prepared by corruption; but, unless a standing army protected those that forged them, the people would break them

asunder, and chop off the polluted hands by which they were prepared. By degrees a free people must be accustomed to be governed by an army: by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. England had for many years been accustomed to a standing army, under pretence of its being necessary to assist the civil power; and by degrees the number and strength of it have been increasing. At the accession of the late King it did not exceed six thousand: it soon amounted to double that number, which has been since augmented under various pretences. He, therefore, concluded, that slavery under the disguise of an army for protecting the liberties of the people, was creeping in upon them by degrees: if no reduction should be made, he declared he should expect in a few years to hear some minister, or favorite of a minister, terrifying the House with imaginary plots and invasions, and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, to show the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army three times as numerous as the present. In spite of these suggestions, the standing army maintained its ground. The same noblemen, assisted by Lord Bathurst, distinguished themselves in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, which comprehended the same arguments that were used in the House of Commons. They met with the same success in both. Resolutions equivalent to those of the Lower House were taken: an address was presented; and his Majesty assured them he would repeat, in the most pressing manner, his instances at the court of Spain, in order to obtain satisfaction and security for his subjects.

B O O K trading to America. This assurance was renewed in
 11. his speech at the close of the session, on the twentieth
 1738. of May, when the parliament was prorogued.

§ X. At this period the Princess of Wales was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of George, now King of Great-Britain. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings; addressees of congratulation were presented to the King by the two universities, and by almost all the cities and communities of the kingdom. But the Prince of Wales still labored under the displeasure of his Majesty, who had ordered the Lord-Chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited the Prince should be admitted to the court of St. James's. His royal highness was divested of all the external marks of royalty, and lived like a private gentleman, cultivating the virtues of a social life, and enjoying the best fruits of conjugal felicity. In the latter end of this month, Rear-Admiral Haddock set sail with a strong squadron for the Mediterranean, which it was hoped would give weight to the negociation of the British minister at the court of Madrid. The act to discourage the retail of spirituous liquors had incensed the populace to such a degree as occasioned numberless tumults in the cities of London and Westminster. They were so addicted to the use of that pernicious compound known by the appellation of gin or geneva, that they ran all risks rather than forego it entirely; and so little regard was paid to the law by which it was prohibited, that in less than two years

twelve thousand persons within the bills of mortality were convicted of having sold it illegally. Nearly one half of that number were cast in the penalty of one hundred pounds: and three thousand persons paid ten pounds each, for an exemption from the disgrace of being committed to the house of correction.

C H A P.

VI.

1738.

§ XI. The war maintained by the Emperor and the Czarina against the Ottoman Porte had not yet produced any decisive event. Count Seckendorf was disgraced and confined, on account of the ill success of the last campaign. General Doxat was tried by a council of war at Belgrade, and condemned to death, for having surrendered to the enemy the town of Nissa, in which he commanded. The diet of the empire granted a subsidy of fifty Roman months to the Emperor, who began to make vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign: but, in the mean time, Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania, revolted against the house of Austria, and brought a considerable army into the field, under the protection of the Grand Signor. He was immediately proclaimed a rebel, and a price set upon his head by the court of Vienna. The Turks taking the field early, reduced the fort of Ufizza, and Meadia and undertook the siege of Orsova, which, however, they abandoned at the approach of the Imperial army, commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, assisted by Count Konigsfegg. The Turks, being re-enforced, marched back, and attacked the Imperialists, by whom they were repulsed after an obstinate engagement. The Germans, notwithstanding this advantage, repassed the Danube; and then the

B O O K infidels made themselves masters of Orsova, where
II. they found a fine train of artillery, designed for
1738. the siege of Midin. By the conquest of this place, the Turks laid the Danube open to their galleys and vessels; and the Germans retired under the cannon of Belgrade. In the Ukraine, the Russians under General Count Munich obtained the advantage over the Turks in two engagements; and General Lasce routed the Tartars of the Crimea; but they returned in greater numbers, and harassed the Muscovites in such a manner, by intercepting their provisions, and destroying the country, that they were obliged to abandon the lines of Precops.

§ XII. In the month of October, an affair of very small importance produced a rupture between the King of Denmark and the Elector of Hanover. A detachment of Hanoverians took by assault the castle of Steinhorst, belonging to the Privy-counsellor Wederkop, and defended by thirty Danish dragoons, who had received orders to repel force by force. Several men were killed on both sides, before the Hanoverians could enter the place, when the garrison was disarmed, and conducted to the frontiers. This petty dispute, about a small territory which did not yield the value of one thousand pounds a year, had well nigh involved Hanover in a war, which, in all probability, Great-Britain must have maintained: but this dispute was compromised by a convention between the Kings of England and Denmark.

§ XIII. The session of parliament was opened

on the first day of February, when the King, in his speech to both Houses, gave them to understand, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the King of Spain, who had obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses, by certain stipulated payments: the plenipotentiaries were named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all those grievances and abuses which had hitherto interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American seas; and for settling all matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint. The motion for an address of approbation was disputed as usual. Though the convention was not yet laid before the House, the nature of it was well known to the leaders of the opposition. Sir William Wyndham observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by the parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands, if they had discovered a resolution to break off all treating, rather than depart from the sense of parliament, either a defensive treaty might have been obtained, or by this time the worst would have been known: but, by what appeared from his Majesty's speech, the convention was no other than a preliminary; and, in all probability, a very bad preliminary. He supposed the minister had ventured to clothe some of his creatures with full powers to give up the rights of the nation; for they might do it if they durst. Sir Robert Walpole, in answer to these suggestions, affirmed, that

BOOK the ministry had on this occasion obtained more
II. than ever on like occasions was known to be ob-
1738. tained; that they had reconciled the peace of their
 country with her true interest: that this peace
 was attended with all the advantages that the
 most successful arms could have procured: that future
 ages would consider this as the most glorious
 period of our history, and do justice to the councils
 that produced the happy event, which every
 gentleman divested of passion and prejudice was
 ready to do; and which, he believed, the present
 age, when rightly informed, would not refuse.
 In a word, he extolled his own convention with
 the most extravagant encomiums.

§ XIV. The House resolved to address the King, that
 copies of all the memorials, representations, letters,
 and papers, presented to his Majesty, or his secretary
 of state, relating to depredations should be submitted
 to the perusal of the House: but some members in the
 opposition were not contented with this resolution.
 Then Mr. Sandys, who may be termed the
 "motion-maker," moved for an address, desiring
 that the House might inspect all letters written,
 and instructions given by the secretaries of state,
 or commissioners of the Admiralty, to any of
 the British governors in America, or any commander
 in chief, or captains of his Majesty's ships of
 war, or his Majesty's minister at the court of
 Spain, or any of his Majesty's consuls in Europe,
 since the treaty of Seville, relating to losses which the
 British subjects had sustained by means of depredations
 committed by the subjects of Spain in

Europe and America. This was an unreasonable proposal, suggested by the spirit of animosity and faction. Mr. H. Walpole justly observed, that a compliance with such an address might lay open the most private transactions of the cabinet, and discover secrets that ought, for the good of the kingdom, to be concealed. It would discover to the court of Spain the *ultimatum* of the King's demands and concessions, and the nation would thereby be deprived of many advantages which it might reap, were no such discovery made. He said, that as soon as the differences betwixt the two courts should arrive at such a crisis, and not before, the consuls were instructed to give notice to the merchants, that they might retire in time with their effects; but, should such instruction come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, it would be a kind of watch-word to put them on their guard, and unavoidably occasion the ruin of many thousands of British subjects. Certain it is, no government could act either in external or domestic affairs with proper influence, dignity, and dispatch, if every letter and instruction relating to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite. The motion being rejected by the majority, the same gentleman moved again for an address, that his Majesty would give directions for laying before the House copies of such memorials or representations as had been made, either to the King of Spain or to his ministers,

CHAR.
VI.
1738.

BOOK since the treaty of Seville, relating to the depredations committed in Europe or America. A debate
11. ensued; and, upon a division, the question passed
1738. in the negative.

§ XV. The House, in a committee of supply, voted twelve thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and the standing army was continued without reduction, though powerfully attacked by the whole strength of the opposition. The Commons likewise ordered an address to his Majesty, for the copies of several memorials since the treaty of Seville, touching the rights of Great-Britain, or any infraction of treaties which had not been laid before them. These were accordingly submitted to the inspection of the House. By this time the convention itself was not only presented to the Commons, but also published for the information of the people. Divers merchants, planters and others trading to America, the cities of London and Bristol, the merchants of Liverpool, and the owners of sundry ships, which had been seized by the Spaniards, offered petitions against the convention, by which the subjects of Spain were so far from giving up their groundless and unjustifiable practice of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from the British plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right: for they insisted that the differences which had arisen concerning it should be referred to plenipotentiaries, to be discussed by them, without even agreeing to abstain from such visitation and search during the time that the discussion

of this affair might last. They, therefore, prayed that they might have an opportunity of being heard, and allowed to represent the great importance of the British trade to and from the plantations in America; the clear indisputable right which they had to enjoy it, without being stopped, visited, or searched, by the Spaniards, on any pretence whatsoever; and the certain inevitable destruction of all the riches and strength derived to Great-Britain from that trade, if a search of British ships sailing to and from their own plantations should be tolerated upon any pretext, or under any restrictions, or even if the freedom of this navigation should continue much longer in a state of uncertainty. These petitions were referred to the committee appointed to consider of the convention. Another remonstrance was likewise presented by the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, setting forth, that the King of Spain claimed that colony as part of his territories; and that by the convention, the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of plenipotentiaries, so that the colony of Georgia, which undoubtedly belonged to the crown of Great-Britain, was left in dispute, while the settlers remained in the most precarious and dangerous situation. It was moved that the merchants should be heard by their counsel: but the proposal was strenuously opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division.

§ XVI. This famous convention, concluded at the Pardo, on the fourteenth day of January,

CHAP.
VI.
1735.

- B O O K** imported, That within six weeks, to be reckoned
 11. from the day on which the ratifications were ex-
 1728. changed, two ministers plenipotentiaries should meet
 at Madrid, to confer and finally regulate the respec-
 tive pretensions of the two crowns, with relation
 to the trade and navigation in America and Eu-
 rope, and to the limits of Florida and Carolina, as
 well as concerning other points which remained
 likewise to be adjusted according to the former
 treaties subsisting between the two nations: That
 the plenipotentiaries should finish their conferences
 within the space of eight months: That in the
 mean time no progress should be made in the
 fortifications of Florida and Carolina: That his
 Catholic Majesty should pay to the King of Great-
 Britain the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds, for a
 balance due to the crown and subjects of Great Bri-
 tain, after deduction made of the demands of the
 crown and subjects of Spain: That this sum should
 be employed for the satisfaction, discharge, and pay-
 ment of the demands of the British subjects upon
 the crown of Spain: That this reciprocal discharge,
 however, should not extend or relate to the accounts
 and differences which subsisted and were to be
 settled between the crown of Spain and the assiento-
 company, nor to any particular or private con-
 tracts that might subsist between either of the two
 crowns, or their ministers, with the subjects of
 the other; or between the subjects and subjects
 of each nation respectively: That his Catholic
 Majesty should cause the sum of ninety-five
 thousand pounds to be paid at London within
 four

four months, to be reckoned from the day on which the ratifications were exchanged. Such was the substance of that convention, which alarmed and provoked the merchants and traders of Great-Britain, excited the indignation of all those who retained any regard for the honor of their country, and raised a general cry against the minister who stood at the helm of administration.

CHAP.

VI.

1738.

§ XVII. The eyes of the whole kingdom were now turned upon the House of Commons. The two contending parties summoned their whole force for the approaching dispute: on the day appointed for considering the convention, four hundred members had taken their seats by eight in the morning. In a committee of the whole House, certain West-India merchants and planters were heard against the convention: so that this and the following day were employed in reading papers and obtaining information. On the eighth day of March Mr. H. Walpole having launched out in the praise of that agreement, moved for an address of approbation to his majesty. He was seconded by Mr. Campbell, of Pembroke-shire; and the debate began which extraordinary ardor. He who first distinguished himself in the lists was Sir Thomas Sander-son, at that time treasurer to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Earl of Scarborough. All the officers and adherents of his royal highness had joined the opposition; and he himself on this occasion sat in the gallery, to hear the debate on such an important transaction. Sir Thomas Sander-son observed, that the Spaniards by the convention, instead of giving us

VOL. IV.

H

BOOK reparation, had obliged us to give them a general
 11. release. They had not allowed the word Satisfaction
 1738. to be so much as once mentioned in the treaty. Even the Spanish pirate who had cut off the ear of Captain Jenkins^{*}, and used the most insulting expression towards the person of the King — an expression which no British subject could decently repeat—an expression which no man that had a regard for his sovereign could ever forgive — even this fellow lived to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remained a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great-Britain; of the triumphant haughtiness, and stubborn pride of

^{*} Captain Jenkins was master of a Scottish merchant-ship. He was boarded by the captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who treated him in the most barbarous manner. The Spaniards, after having rummaged his vessel for what they called contraband commodities without finding any thing to justify their search, insulted Jenkins with the most opprobrious invectives. They tore off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner should an opportunity offer: they tortured him with the most shocking cruelty, and threatened him with immediate death. This man was examined at the bar of the House of Commons; and being asked by a member, what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians? “I recommended my soul to God (said he) and my cause to my country.” The behaviour of this brave seaman, the sight of his ear, which was produced, with his account of the indignities which had been offered to the nation and sovereign of Great-Britain, filled the whole House with indignation. Jenkins was afterwards employed in the service of the East-India company: he approved himself worthy of his good fortune, in a long engagement with the pirate Angria, during which he behaved with extraordinary courage and conduct; and saved his own ship with three others that were under his convoy.

Spain. Lord Gage, one of the most keen, spirited, and, sarcastic orators in the House, stated in this manner the account of the satisfaction obtained from the court of Spain by the convention : the losses sustained by the Spanish depredations amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The commissary by a stroke of his pen, reduced this demand to two hundred thousand pounds ; then forty-five thousand were struck off for prompt payment. He next allotted sixty thousand pounds as the remaining part of a debt pretended to be due to Spain, for the destruction of her fleet by Sir George Byng, though it appeared by the instructions on the table, that Spain had been already amply satisfied on that head. These deductions reduced the balance to ninety-five thousand pounds; but the King of Spain insisted upon the South-Sea company's paying immediately the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, as a debt due to him on one head of accounts, though, in other articles, his Catholic Majesty was indebted to the company a million over and above this demand. The remainder to be paid by Spain did not exceed seven-and-twenty thousand pounds, from which she insisted upon deducting whatever she might have already given in satisfaction for any of the British ships that had been taken; and on being allowed the value of the *St. Theresa*, a Spanish ship which had been seized in the port of Dublin. Mr. W. Pitt, with an energy of argument and diction peculiar to himself, declaimed against the convention, as insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonorable to Great-Britain. He said the great national objection, the searching of British

BOOK II.
1738.

ships, was not admitted, indeed, in the preamble; but stood there as the reproach of the whole, as the strongest evidence of the fatal submission that followed: on the part of Spain, an usurpation, an inhuman tyranny claimed and exercised over the American seas: on the part of England, an undoubted right by treaties, and from God and nature declared and asserted in the resolutions of parliament, were now referred to the discussion of plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal foot. This undoubted right was to be discussed and regulated; and if to regulate be to prescribe rules, as in all construction it is, that right was, by the express words of the convention, to be given up and sacrificed: for it must cease to be any thing from the moment it is submitted to limitation. Mr. Lyttelton, with equal force and fluency, answered the speech of Mr. H. Walpole. "After he had used many arguments to persuade us to peace (said he) to any peace, good or bad, by pointing out the dangers of a war, dangers I by no means allow to be such as he represents them, he crowned all these terrors with the name of the Pretender. It would be the cause of the Pretender. The Pretender would come. Is the honorable gentleman sensible what this language imports? The people of England complain of the greatest wrongs and indignities: they complain of the interruption, the destruction of their trade: they think the peace has left them in a worse condition than before; and in answer to all these complaints, what are they told? Why, that their continuing to suffer all this, is the price they must

CHAR.

VI.

1738.

“ pay to keep the King and his family on the throne of these realms. If this were true, it ought not to be owned; but it is far from truth; the very reverse is true. Nothing can weaken the family; nothing shake the establishment, but such measures as these, and such language as this.” He affirmed, that if the ministers had proceeded conformably to the intentions of parliament, they would either have acted with vigor, or have obtained a real security in an express acknowledgment of our right not to be searched, as a preliminary, *sine qua non*, to our treating at all. Instead of this they had referred it to plenipotentiaries. “ Would you, Sir (said he) submit to a reference, whether you may travel unmolested from your house in town to your house in the country? Your right is clear and undeniable, why would you have it discussed; but much less would you refer it, if two of your judges belonged to a gang which has often stopped and robbed you in your way thither before.”—The ministers, in vindication of the convention, asserted, that the satisfaction granted by Spain was adequate to the injury received: that it was only the preliminary of a treaty which would remove all causes of complaint: that war was always expensive and detrimental to a trading nation, as well as uncertain in its events: that France and Spain would certainly join their forces in case of a rupture with Great-Britain: that there was not one power in Europe upon which the English could depend for effectual assistance; and that war would favor the cause and designs of a popish preten-

H 3

BOOK

II.

1738.

der. The House, upon a division, agreed to the address; but when a motion was made for its being recommitted, the two parties renewed the engagement with redoubled eagerness and impetuosity. Sir William Wyndham and Mr. Pulteney poured all the thunder of their eloquence against the insolence of Spain, and the concessions of the British ministry. Sir Robert Walpole exerted all his fortitude and dexterity in defence of himself and his measures, and the question being put, the resolutions for the address were carried by a small majority.

§ XVIII. Then Sir William Wyndham standing up, made a pathetic remonstrance upon this determination. "This address (said he) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our consideration is a reasonable and an honorable treaty. But if a majority of twenty-eight in such a full House should fail of that success; if the people should not implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this House, what will be the consequence? Will not the parliament lose its authority? Will it not be thought, that even in the parliament we are governed by a faction? and what the consequence of this may be, I leave to those gentlemen to consider, who are now to give their vote for this address: for my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with these my last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms, that he will graciously con-

“ continue his protection over them, by preserving
 “ us from that impending danger which threatens
 “ the nation from without, and likewise from
 “ that impending danger which threatens our
 “ constitution from within.” The minister was
 on this occasion deserted by his usual temper,
 and even provoked into personal abuse. He
 declared, that the gentleman who was now the
 mouth of his opponents had been looked upon
 as the head of those traitors, who twenty-five
 years before conspired the destruction of their
 country and of the royal family, in order to set
 a popish pretender upon the throne: that he was
 seized by the vigilance of the then government, and
 pardoned by its clemency, but all the use he
 had ungratefully made of that clemency, was to
 qualify himself according to law, that he and his
 party might some time or other have an oppor-
 tunity to overthrow all law. He branded them
 all as traitors, and expressed his hope, that their
 behaviour would unite all the true friends of the
 present happy establishment. To such a degree of
 mutual animosity were both sides inflamed, that
 the most eminent members of the minority
 actually retired from parliament; and were by the
 nation in general revered as martyrs to the liberty
 of the people.

§ XIX. The dispute occasioned by the con-
 vention in the House of Lords, was maintained with
 equal warmth, and perhaps with more abilities.
 After this famous treaty had been considered,
 Lord Carteret suggested that possibly one of the con-

BOOK

11.

1738.

tracting powers had presented a protest or declaration, importing that she acceded to such or such a measure, only upon condition that the terms of that protest or declaration should be made good. He said, that until his mind should be free from the most distant suspicion that such a paper might exist in the present case, he could not form a just opinion of the transaction himself, nor communicate to their lordships any light which might be necessary for that purpose. The adherents to the ministry endeavoured to evade his curiosity in this particular, by general assertions: but he insisted on his suspicion with such perseverance, that at length the ministry produced the copy of a declaration made by the King of Spain before he ratified the convention, signifying that his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself, in its full force the right of being able to suspend the assiento of negroes in case the company should not pay within a short time the sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling, owing to Spain on the duty of negroes, or on the profit of the ship *Caroline*: That under the validity and force of this protest, the signing of the said convention might be proceeded on, and in no other manner. In the debate that ensued, Lord Carteret displayed a surprising extent of political knowledge, recommended by all the graces of elocution, chaste, pure, dignified, and delicate. Lord Bathurst argued against the articles of convention with his usual spirit, integrity, and good sense, particularly animated by an honest indignation, which the wrongs of his country had inspired. The Earl of

Chesterfield attacked this inglorious measure with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of satire. The Duke of Argyle, no longer a partisan of the ministry, inveighed against it as infamous, treacherous, and destructive, with all the fire, impetuosity, and enthusiasm of declamation.

It was defended with unequal arms by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondely, Lord Hervey, the Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Salisbury, and in particular by the Earl of Ilay, a nobleman of extensive capacity and uncommon erudition; remarkable for his knowledge of the civil law, and seemingly formed by nature for a politician; cool, discerning, plausible, artful, and enterprising; staunch to the minister, and invariably true to his own interest. The dispute was learned, long, and obstinate: but ended as usual in the discomfiture of those who had stigmatized the treaty. The House agreed to an address, in which they thanked his Majesty for his gracious condescension in laying before them the convention. They acknowledged his great prudence in bringing the demands of his subjects for their past losses, which had been so long depending, to a final adjustment; in procuring an express stipulation for a speedy payment; and in laying a foundation for accomplishing the great and desirable ends of obtaining future security, and preserving the peace between the two nations. They declared their confidence in his royal wisdom, that in the treaty to be concluded in pursuance of the convention, proper provisions would be made for the redress of the grievances

BOOK of which the nation had so justly complained:
II. They assured his Majesty, that in case his just expectations should not be answered, the House would heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as should be necessary to vindicate his Majesty's honor, and to preserve to his subjects the full enjoyment of all those rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations. This was a hard-won victory. At the head of those who voted against the address we find the Prince of Wales. His example was followed by six dukes, two-and-twenty earls, four viscounts, eighteen barons, four bishops, and their party was re-enforced by sixteen proxies. A spirited protest was entered and subscribed by nine-and-thirty peers, comprehending all the noblemen of the kingdom who were most eminent for their talents, integrity, and virtue.

8a. 1739.

§ XX. A message having been delivered to the House from his Majesty, importing, That he had settled nine-and-thirty thousand pounds per annum on the younger children of the royal family; and desiring their lordships would bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to make that provision good, out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, some lords in the opposition observed that the next heir to the crown might look upon this settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which a parliament had no power to make: that formerly no daughter of the royal family was ever provided for by parliament, except the eldest, and that never was by way of annuity, but an express provision

of a determinate sum of money paid by way of dowry. These objections were over-ruled; and the House complied with his Majesty's request. Then the Duke of Newcastle produced a subsidy-treaty, by which his Majesty obliged himself to pay to the King of Denmark seventy thousand pounds per annum, on condition of the Dane's furnishing to his Britannic Majesty a body of six thousand men, when demanded. At the same time, his grace delivered a message from the King, desiring the House would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and also to raise what money and troops the exigency of affairs, during the approaching recess, might require. Another vehement dispute arose from this proposal. With respect to the treaty, Lord Carteret observed, that no use could be made of the Danish troops in any expedition undertaken against Spain, because it was stipulated in the treaty that they should not be used either in Italy, or on board of the fleet, or be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, after they should have marched out of the territories of Denmark, except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland: nay, should France join against the English, the Danes could not act against that power or Spain, except as part of an army formed in Germany or Flanders. This body of Danes may by said, therefore, to have been retained for the defence and protection of Hanover: or, if the interest of Britain was at all consulted in the treaty, it must have been in preventing the Danes from joining their fleets to

CHAP.

VI.

1739.

BOOK

II.
1739.

those of France and Spain. Then he argued against the second part of the message with great vivacity. He said nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than a general and unlimited vote of credit. Such a demand our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. He affirmed that the practice was but of modern date in England: that it was never heard of before the Revolution; and never became frequent until the nation was blessed with the present wise administration. He said, if ever a general vote of credit and confidence should become a customary compliment from the parliament to the crown at the end of every session, or as often as the minister might think fit to desire it, parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people: then a proclamation might be easily substituted in its stead, and happy would it be for the nation if that should be sufficient; for when a parliament ceases to be a check upon ministers, it becomes an useless and unnecessary burden on the people. The representatives must always be paid some way or other: if their wages are not paid openly and surely by their respective constituents, as they were formerly, a majority of them may in future times be always ready to accept of wages from the administration, and these must come out of the pockets of the people. The Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Chesterfield enlarged upon the same topics. Nevertheless, the House complied with the message; and presented an address, in which they not only approved of the treaty with Denmark, but likewise assured

his Majesty they would concur with his measures, and support him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making such further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, as he should think necessary for the honor, interest, and safety of these kingdoms.

CHAP.

VI.

1739.

§ XXI. The same message being communicated to the Commons, they voted seventy thousand five hundred and eighty-three pounds, for the subsidy to Denmark, and five hundred thousand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great-Britain stood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the sum of sixty thousand pounds in consideration of the ships taken and destroyed by Sir George Byng, which sum was to be applied to the relief of the British merchants who had suffered by the Spanish depredations, the Commons inserted in a bill a clause, providing for this sum to be paid by the parliament. When the bill was read in the House of Lords a motion was made by Lord Bathurst for an address, to know, whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, as the time limited for the payment of it was now expired? The Duke of Newcastle, by his Majesty's permission, acquainted the House, that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment. Then a day was appointed to consider the state of the nation, when Lord Carteret moved for a resolution, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his Majesty, and an injustice to the nation: but, after a warm debate, this motion was over-ruled

BOOK

II.

1722

by the majority. The minister, in order to atone in some measure for the unpopular step he had taken in the convention, allowed a salutary law to pass for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the sugar-colonies, one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper restrictions; and the other making more effectual provisions for securing the duties laid upon the importation of foreign sugars, rum, and melasses into Great-Britain, and his Majesty's plantations in America. The supplies being voted, the funds established, and the crown gratified in every particular, the King closed the session with a speech on the fourteenth day of June, when the Chancellor in his Majesty's name prorogued the parliament.

§ XXII. Letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Spaniards: a promotion was made of general-officers: the troops were augmented:

Among the laws enacted in the course of this session was an act against gaming, which had become universal through all ranks of people, and likely to prove destructive of all morals, industry, and sentiment. Another bill passed, for granting a reward to Joanna Stevens, on her discovering, for the benefit of the public, a nostrum for the cure of persons afflicted with the stone; a medicine which has by no means answered the expectations of the legislature.

In the House of Lords complaint was made by Lord Delawar of a satire, entitled *Manners*, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which some characters of distinction were severely lashed, in the true spirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into custody: but he having withdrawn himself, the resentment of the House fell upon R. Dodsley, the publisher of the work, who was committed to the usher of the black-rod, though Lord Carteret, the Earl of Abingdon, and Lord Talbot, spoke in his behalf.

a great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a re-enforcement sent out to Admiral Haddock; and an embargo laid on all merchant-ships outward bound. Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keen, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and that this permission would be recalled as soon as his Catholic Majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the King of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, complaining that Admiral Haddock had received orders to cruise with his squadron between the capes St. Vincent and St. Mary, in order to surprise the assogue ships; that letters of reprisal had been published at London, in an indecent style and even carried into execution in different parts of the world. He excused his non-payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds stipulated in the convention, by affirming that the British court had first contravened the articles of that treaty, by the orders sent to Haddock; by continuing to fortify Georgia; by re-enforcing the squadron at Jamaica; and by eluding the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds due to Spain from the South-Sea Company, on the assiento for negroes. The French ambassador at the Hague, declared that the King his master was obliged by treaties to assist his Catholic

BOOK Majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked;
II. he dissuaded the States-General from espousing the
1739. quarrel of Great-Britain; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic-Majesty with such succours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamored and the ministry seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

§ XXIII. The events of war were still unfavorable to the Emperor. He had bestowed the command of his army upon Felt-mareschal Count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and advanced towards Crotzka, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The Earl of Crawford, who served as a volunteer in the Imperial army, signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner on this occasion, and received a dangerous wound, of which he never perfectly recovered. The Turks were afterwards worsted at Jabouka; nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigor. The Emperor, dreading the loss of this place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was transacted under the mediation of the French ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. The Court de Neuperg, as
 Imperial

Imperial plenipotentiary, signed the preliminaries on the first day of September. They were ratified by the Emperor, though he pretended to be dissatisfied with the articles, and declared that his minister had exceeded his powers. By this treaty the House of Austria ceded to the Grand Signor Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Walachia, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with the fort of St. Elisabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires. The Emperor published a circular letter, addressed to his ministers at all the courts in Europe, blaming Count Wallis for the bad success of the last campaign, and disowning the negotiations of Count Neuperg; nay, these two officers were actually disgraced, and confined in different castles. This, however, was no other than a sacrifice to the resentment of the Czarina, who loudly complained, that the Emperor had concluded a separate peace, contrary to his engagements with the Russian empire. Her general, Count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Turks at Choczim in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place, in which he found two hundred pieces of artillery: but the country was so ruined by the incursions of the Tartars, that the Muscovites could not subsist in it during the winter. The Czarina finding herself abandoned by the Emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Ottoman empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war upon honorable terms. After a short negotiation, the conferences ended in

VOL. IV.

I

BOOK

II.

1739.

a treaty, by which she was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

§ XXIV. A rupture between Great Britain and Spain was now become inevitable. The English squadron in the Mediterranean had already made prize of two rich Caracca ships. The King had issued orders for augmenting his land-forces, and raising a body of marines: and a great number of ships of war were put in commission. Admiral Vernon had been sent to the West-Indies, to assume the command of the squadron in those seas; and to annoy the trade and settlements of the Spaniards. This gentleman had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, by loudly condemning all the measures of the ministry, and bluntly speaking his sentiments, whatever they were, without respect of persons, and sometimes without any regard to decorum. He was counted a good officer, and this boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica. he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamors of the people on

this subject, sent him as a commander in chief to the West-Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censor from the House of Commons; and perhaps he was not without hope, that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His Catholic Majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the King of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the twenty-third day of October. Many English merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce, as well as to distress that of the enemy. The session of parliament was opened in November, when the King, in his speech to both Houses, declared that he had augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power vested in him by parliament for the security of his dominions, the protection of trade, and the annoyance of the enemy; and he expressed his apprehension, that the heats and animosities which had been industriously fomented throughout the kingdom encouraged Spain to act in such a manner as rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to arms. In answer to this speech, affectionate addresses were presented by both Houses, without any considerable opposition.

§ XXV. The seceding members had again resumed their seats in the House of Commons; and Mr. Pulteney thought proper to vindicate

BOOK

11.

1739.

the extraordinary step which they had taken. He said, they thought that step was necessary as affairs then stood, for clearing their characters to posterity from the imputation of sitting in an assembly where a determined majority gave a sanction to measures evidently to the disgrace of his Majesty and the nation. He observed, that their conduct was so fully justified by the declaration of war against Spain, that any further vindication would be superfluous; for every assertion contained in it had been almost in the same words insisted upon by those who opposed the convention: "Every sentence in it (aded he) "is an echo of what was said in our reasonings "against that treaty: every positive truth which "the declaration lays down was denied with "the utmost confidence by those who spoke "for the convention; and since that time, "there has not one event happened which was "not then foreseen and foretold." He proposed, that in maintaining the war, the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies should be attacked; and that the ministry should not have the power to give up the conquests that might be made. He said he heartily wished, for his Majesty's honor and service, that no mention had been made of heats and animosities in the King's speech; and gave it as his opinion, that they should take no notice of that clause in their address. He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, who took occasion to say, he was in no great concern lest the service of his Majesty or the nation should

suffer by the absence of those members who had quitted the House: he affirmed the nation was generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of the last session were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of those gentlemen; and if they were returned only to oppose and perplex, he should not be at all sorry to see them secede again.

CHAP.

VI.

1739.

§ XXVI. Mr. Pulteney revived the bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of seamen. After a long dispute, and eager opposition by the ministry, it passed both Houses, and obtained the royal assent. Mr. Sandys having observed, that there could be no immediate use for a great number of forces in the kingdom; and explained how little service could be expected from raw and undisciplined men; proposed an address to the King, desiring that the body of marines should be composed of drafts from the old regiments: that as few officers should be appointed as the nature of the case would permit; and he expressed his hope, that the House would recommend this method to his Majesty, in tender compassion to his people, already burdened with many heavy and grievous taxes. This scheme was repugnant to the intention of the ministry, whose aim was to increase the number of their dependants, and extend their parliamentary interest, by granting a great number of commissions. The proposal was, therefore, after a long debate, rejected by the majority. Motions were made for an

BOOK

11.

1739.

inquiry into the conduct of those who concluded the convention ; but they were over-ruled. The pension-bill was revived, and so powerfully supported by the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Lyttelton, that it made its way through the Commons to the Upper House, where it was again lost, upon a division, after a very long debate. As the seamen of the kingdom expressed uncommon aversion to the service of the government, and the fleet could not be manned without great difficulty, the ministry prepared a bill, which was brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for registering all seamen, watermen, fishermen, and lightermen, throughout his Majesty's dominions. Had this bill passed into a law, a British sailor would have been reduced to the most abject degree of slavery : had he removed from a certain district allotted for the place of his residence, he would have been deemed a deserter, and punished accordingly : he must have appeared, when summoned, at all hazards, whatever might have been the circumstances of his family, or the state of his private affairs : had he been encumbered with debt, he must either have incurred the penalties of this law, or lain at the mercy of his creditors : had he acquired by industry, or received by inheritance, an ample fortune, he would have been liable to be torn from his possessions, and subjected to hardships which no man would endure but from the sense of fear or indigence. The bill was so vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and others, as a flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the people, that the House rejected it on the second reading.

§ XXVII. The King having by message communicated to the House his intention of disposing the Princess Mary in marriage to Prince Frederic of Hesse; and expressing his hope, that the Commons would enable him to give a suitable portion to his daughter; they unanimously resolved to grant forty thousand pounds for that purpose; and presented an address of thanks to his Majesty, for having communicated to the House this intended marriage. On the thirteenth day of March a ship arrived from the West-Indies, dispatched by Admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two Houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his Majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by an exploit which was magnified much above its merit. The Commons granted every thing the crown thought proper to demand. They provided for eight - and - twenty thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines. They enabled his Majesty to equip a very powerful navy: they voted the subsidy to the King of Denmark; and they empowered their sovereign to defray certain extraordinary expenses not specified in the estimates. To answer these uncommon grants, they imposed a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; and enabled his Majesty to deduct twelve hundred thousand pounds from the sinking fund; in a

CHAP.
VI.
1739.

BOOK word, the expense of the war, during the course
II, of the ensuing year, amounted to about four millions. The session was closed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the King thanked the Commons for the supplies they had so liberally granted, and recommended union and moderation to both Houses.

AN. 1740. § XXVIII. During the greatest part of this winter, the poor had been grievously afflicted in consequence of a severe frost, which began at Christmas and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped: the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood: the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme, that many persons were chilled to death; and this calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to supply themselves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price, in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The lower class of laborers, who worked in the open air, were now deprived of all means of subsistence many kinds of manufacture were laid aside, because it was found impracticable to carry them on. The price of all sorts of provision rose almost to a dearth: even water was sold in the streets of London. In this season of distress, many wretched families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not those of

opulent fortunes been inspired with a remarkable spirit of compassion and humanity. Nothing can more redound to the honor of the English nation, than did those instances of benevolence and well conducted charity which were then exhibited. The liberal hand was not only opened to the professed beggar, and the poor that owned their distress: but uncommon pains were taken to find out and relieve those more unhappy objects, who from motives of false pride, or ingenuous shame, endeavoured to conceal their misery. These were assisted almost in their own despite. The solitary habitations of the widow, the fatherless, and the unfortunate, were visited by the beneficent, who felt for the woes of their fellow-creatures; and, to such as refused to receive a portion of the public charity, the necessaries of life were privately conveyed, in such a manner as could least shock the delicacy of their dispositions.

§ XXIX. In the beginning of May, the King of Great-Britain set out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency, and concerted vigorous measures for distressing the enemy. In a few days after his departure, the spousals of the Princess Mary were celebrated by proxy, the Duke of Cumberland representing the Prince of Hesse, and in June the Princess embarked for the continent. About the same time, a sloop arrived in England with dispatches from Admiral Vernon, who, since his adventure at Porto-Bello, had bombarded Carthagea, and taken the fort of San Loren-

BOOK 20, on the river of Chagre, in the neighbourhood
II. of his former conquest. This month was likewise
 1749, marked by the death of his Prussian Majesty, a
 prince by no means remarkable for great or
 amiable qualities. He was succeeded on the throne
 by Frederic his eldest son, the late king of that
 realm, who has so eminently distinguished himself as
 a warrior and legislator. In August the King of
 Great-Britain concluded a treaty with the Land-
 grave of Hesse, who engaged to furnish him with
 a body of six thousand men for four years, in
 consideration of an annual subsidy of two hundred
 and fifty thousand crowns.

§ XXX. Mean while, preparations of war were
 vigorously carried on by the ministry in England.
 They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards
 in their American possessions. Three ships of war
 cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a
 large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and
 took her after a very obstinate engagement: but the
 assogue ships arrived, with the treasure, in Spain,
 notwithstanding the vigilance of the English com-
 manders, who were stationed in a certain latitude
 to intercept that flota. One camp was formed on
 Hounslow-heath; and six thousand marines lately
 levied were encamped on the isle of Wight, in
 order to be embarked for the West-Indies. In-
 telligence being received that a strong squadron
 of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders
 to sail to their American settlements, Sir John Nor-
 ris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to
 dispute their voyage; and the Duke of Cumberland

served in person as a volunteer in this expedition: but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was by contrary winds obliged to lie inactive for the greatest part of the summer in Torbay; and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships, commanded by Commodore Anson, set sail for the South-sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well laid, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. But the hopes of the nation centered chiefly in a formidable armament designed for the northern coast of new Spain, and his Catholic Majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantic. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies of North-America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the isle of Wight, under the command, of Lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honor, and great experience in the art of war; and they sailed under convoy of Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven-and-twenty ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships, laden with provision, ammunition, all

C H A P.

VI.

1740.

BOOK sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of
II. convenience. Never was an armament more com-
1740. pletely equipped; and never had the nation more
 reason to hope for extraordinary success.

§ XXXI. On the twentieth day of October, Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, the last prince of the house of Austria, died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Though this princess succeeded as Queen of Hungary; by virtue of the pragmatic sanction guaranteed by all the powers in Europe, her succession produced such contests as kindled a cruel war in the empire. The young King of Prussia was no sooner informed of the Emperor's death, than he entered Silesia at the head of twenty thousand men; seized certain fiefs to which his family laid claim; and published a manifesto, declaring that he had no intention to contravene the pragmatic sanction. The Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the Archduchess as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, alledging that he himself had pretensions to those countries, as the descendant of the Emperor Ferdinand I. who was head of the German branch of the house of Austria. Charles VI. was survived but a few days by his ally, the Czarina Anne Iwanowna, who died in the forty-fifth year of her age, after having bequeathed her crown to Iwan, or John, the infant son of her niece, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, who had been married to Anthony Ulrick, Duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh-

Bevern. She appointed the Duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were alive: but this disposition was not long maintained.

CHAP.

VI.

1740.

§ XXXII. The King of Great-Britain having returned to England from his German dominions, the session of parliament was opened in November. His Majesty assured them, on this occasion, that he was determined to prosecute the war vigorously, even though France should espouse the cause of Spain, as her late conduct seemed to favor this supposition. He took notice of the Emperor's death, as an event which in all likelihood would open a new scene of affairs in Europe: he, therefore, recommended to their consideration the necessary supplies for putting the nation in such a posture that it should have nothing to fear from any emergency. Finally, he desired them to consider of some proper regulations for preventing the exportation of corn, and for more effectual methods to man the fleet at this conjuncture. The Commons, after having voted an address of thanks, brought in a bill for prohibiting the exportation of corn and provisions, for a limited time, out of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the American plantations. This was a measure calculated to distress the enemy, who were supposed to be in want of these necessaries. The French had contracted for a very large quantity of beef and pork in Ireland, for the use of their own and the Spanish navy; and an embargo had been laid

B O O K upon the ships of that kingdom. The bill met
 11. with a vigorous opposition: yet the House una-
 1740. nimonously resolved, that his Majesty should be ad-
 dressed to lay an immediate embargo upon all
 ships laden with corn, grain, starch, rice, beef,
 pork, and other provisions, to be exported to
 foreign parts. They likewise resolved that the
 thanks of the House should be given to Vice-Admiral
 Vernon, for the services he had done to his king
 and country in the West-Indies. One William
 Cooley was examined at the bar of the House,
 and committed to prison, after having owned
 himself author of a paper entitled, "Considera-
 tions upon the embargo on provision of victual."
 The performance contained many shrewd and severe
 animadversions upon the government, for having
 taken a step which, without answering the purpose
 of distressing the enemy, would prove a grievous
 discouragement to trade, and ruin all the graziers
 of Ireland. Notwithstanding the arguments used
 in this remonstrance, and several petitions that
 were presented against the corn-bill, it passed by
 mere dint of ministerial influence. The other party
 endeavoured, by various motions, to set on foot an in-
 quiry into the orders, letters, and instructions, which
 had been sent to Admiral Vernon and Admiral
 Haddock: but all such investigations were care-
 fully avoided.

§ XXXIII. A very hot contest arose from a bill
 which the ministry brought in under the specious
 title of, A bill for the encouragement and increase
 of seamen, and for the better and speedier

manning his Majesty's fleet. This was a revival of the oppressive scheme which had been rejected in the former session; a scheme by which the justices of the peace were empowered to issue warrants to constables and head-boroughs, to search by day or night for such sea-faring men as should conceal themselves within their respective jurisdictions. These searchers were vested with authority to force open doors, in case of resistance; and encouraged to this violence by a reward for every seaman they should discover; while the unhappy wretches so discovered were dragged into the service, and their names entered in a register to be kept at the Navy or the Admiralty-office. Such a plan of tyranny did not pass uncensured. Every exceptionable clause produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Lord Gage, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Lyttelton, signalized themselves nobly in defending the liberties of their fellow-subjects, Mr. Pitt having expressed a laudable indignation at such a large stride towards despotic power, in justification of which nothing could be urged but the plea of necessity, Mr. H. Walpole thought proper to attack him with some personal sarcasms. He reflected upon his youth; and observed that the discovery of truth was very little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. These insinuations exposed him to a severe reply. Mr. Pitt standing up again, said "He would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as

BOOK

11.

1740.

“ a reproach: but he affirmed, that the wretch, who after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his grey head should secure him from insults: much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and becomes more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy; and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country.” — Petitions were presented from the city of London, and county of Gloucester, against the bill, as detrimental to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, by discouraging rather than encouraging sailors, and destructive to the liberties of the subject: but they were both rejected, as insults upon the House of Commons. After very long debates, maintained on both sides with extraordinary ardor and emotion; the severe clauses were dropped, and the bill passed with amendments.

§ XXXIV. But the most remarkable incident of this session was an open and personal attack upon the minister, who was become extremely unpopular all over the kingdom. The people were now more than ever sensible of the grievous taxes under which they groaned: and saw their burdens daily increasing. No effectual attempt had as yet been made to annoy the enemy. Expensive squadrons had been equipped; had made excursions, and returned without striking a blow.

The

The Spanish fleet had sailed first from Cadiz, and then from Ferrol, without any interruption from Admiral Haddock, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean, and who was supposed to be restricted by the instructions he had received from the ministry, though in fact his want of success was owing to accident. Admiral Vernon had written from the West-Indies to his private friends, that he was neglected, and in danger of being sacrificed. Notwithstanding the numerous navy which the nation maintained, the Spanish privateers made prize of the British merchant-ships with impunity. In violation of treaties, and in contempt of that intimate connexion which had been so long cultivated between the French and English ministry, the King of France had ordered the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk to be repaired: his fleet had sailed to the West-Indies, in conjunction with that of Spain; and the merchants of England began to tremble for Jamacia: finally, commerce was in a manner suspended, by the practice of pressing sailors into the service, and by the embargo which had been laid upon ships in all the ports of Great-Britain and Ireland. These causes of popular discontent, added to other complaints which had been so long repeated against the minister, exaggerated and inculcated by his enemies with unwearied industry, at length rendered him so universally odious, that his name was seldom or never mentioned with decency, except by his own dependants.

§ XXXV. The country-party in parliament seized

VOL. IV.

K

BOOK this opportunity of vengeance. Mr. Sandys went
 11. up to Sir Robert Walpole in the House, and
 1740. told him, that on Friday next he should bring a
 charge against him in public. The minister
 seemed to be surprised at this unexpected intima-
 tion: but, after a short pause, thanked him politely
 for this previous notice, and said he desired no
 favor, but fair play¹. Mr. Sandys, at the time
 which he had appointed for this accusation, stood
 up, and in a studied speech entered into a long
 deduction of the minister's misconduct. He insisted
 upon the discontents of the nation, in consequence
 of the measures which had been for many years
 pursued at home and abroad. He professed his
 belief that there was not a gentleman in the House
 who did not know that one single person in
 the administration was the chief, if not the sole
 adviser and promoter of all those measures. "This
 (added he) "is known without doors, as well as
 " within; therefore, the discontents, the reproa-
 " ches and even the curses of the people, are
 " all directed against that single person. They
 " complain of present measures: they have suf-
 " fered by past measures: they expect no redress;
 " they expect no alteration or amendment,
 " whilst he has a share in directing or advising

¹ Upon this occasion he misquoted Horace. "As I am
 " not conscious of any crime (said he) I do not doubt
 " of being able to make a proper defence. *Nil conscire*
sibi nil i pallescere culpa." He was corrected by Mr Pulteney;
 but insisted upon his being in the right, and actually laid
 a wager on the justness of his quotation.

“ our future administration. These, Sir, are the
 “ sentiments of the people in regard to that minister:
 “ these sentiments we are in honor and duty bound
 “ to represent to his Majesty; and the proper me-
 “ thod for doing this, as established by our constitu-
 “ tion, is to address his Majesty to remove him
 “ from his councils.” He then proceeded to explain
 the particulars of the minister’s misconduct in
 the whole series of his negotiations abroad. He
 charged him with having endeavoured to support
 his own interest, and to erect a kind of despotic
 government, by the practice of corruption; with
 having betrayed the interest and honor of Great-
 Britain in the late convention; with having neglected
 to prosecute the war against Spain; and he concluded
 with a motion for an address to the King, that he
 would be pleased to remove Sir Robert Walpole
 from his presence and councils for ever. He was
 answered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to
 defend or excuse all the measures which the other
 had condemned; and acquitted himself as a warm
 friend and unshaken adherent. Against this
 champion Sir John Barnard entered the lists, and
 was sustained by Mr. Pulteney, who, with equal
 spirit and precision, pointed out and exposed all
 the material errors and mal-practices of the adminis-
 tration. Sir Robert Walpole spoke with great temper
 and deliberation in behalf of himself. With respect
 to the article of bribery and corruption, he said
 if any one instance had been mentioned; if it had been
 shown that he ever offered a reward to any member

B O O K of either House, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence his voting in parliament, there might have been some ground for this charge; but when it was so generally laid, he did not know what he could say to it, unless to deny it as generally and as positively as it had been asserted.—Such a declaration as this, in the hearing of so many persons, who not only knew, but subsisted by his wages of corruption, was a strong proof of the minister's being dead to all sense of shame, and all regard to veracity. The debate was protracted by the court-members till three o'clock in the morning, when above sixty of the opposite party having retired, the motion was rejected by a considerable majority.

II.
1740.

§ XXXVI. A bill was brought in for prohibiting the practice of insuring ships belonging to the enemies of the nation; but it was vigorously opposed by Sir John Barnard and Mr. Willmot, who demonstrated that this kind of traffic was advantageous to the kingdom; and the scheme was dropped. Another warm contest arose upon a clause of the mutiny - bill relating to the quartering of soldiers upon inn-keepers and publicans, who complained of their being distressed in furnishing those guests with provisions and necessaries at the rates prescribed by law or custom. There were not wanting advocates to expatiate upon the nature of this grievance, which however, was not redressed. A new trade was at this time opened with Persia, through the dominions of the Czar, and vested with an

exclusive privilege in the Russia company, by an act of parliament. The Commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about thirty thousand men for the establishment of land-forces. They provided for the subsidies granted to the King of Denmark and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and took every step which was suggested for the ease and the convenience of the government.

CHAP.
VI.
1740.

§ XXXVII. The parties in the House of Lords were influenced by the same motives which actuated the Commons. The Duke of Argyle, who had by this time resigned all his places, declared open war against the ministry. In the beginning of the session, the King's speech was no sooner reported by the Chancellor, than this nobleman stood up and moved that a general address of thanks should be presented to his Majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the King's speech, re-echoed from the parliament to the throne, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister. He spoke on this subject with an astonishing impetuosity of eloquence, that rolled like a river which had overflowed its banks and deluged the whole adjacent country. The motion was supported by Lord Bathurst, Lord Carteret, the Earl of Chesterfield, and Lord Gower, who, though they displayed all the talents of oratory, were outvoted by the opposite party, headed by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Cholmondely, Lord Hervey, and the Lord Chancellor.

K 3

BOOK The motion was rejected, and the address composed in the usual strain. The same motions for an inquiry into orders and instructions, which had miscarried in the Lower House, were here repeated with the same bad success: in the debates which ensued, the young Earls of Hallifax and Sandwich acquired a considerable share of reputation, for the strength of argument and elocution with which they contended against the adherents of the ministry. When the House took into consideration the state of the army, the Duke of Argyle having harangued with equal skill and energy on military affairs, proposed that the forces should be augmented by adding new levies to the old companies, without increasing the number of officers; as such an augmentation served only to debase the dignity of the service, by raising the lowest of mankind to the rank of gentlemen; and to extend the influence of the minister, by multiplying his dependants. He, therefore, moved for a resolution, that the augmenting the army by raising regiments, as it is the most unnecessary and most expensive method of augmentation, was also the most dangerous to the liberties of the nation. This proposal was likewise over-ruled, after a short though warm contention. This was the fate of all the other motions made by the lords in the opposition, though the victory of the courtiers was always clogged with a nervous and spirited protest. Two days were expended in the debate produced by Lord Carteret's motion for an address, beseeching his Majesty to remove Sir

Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. The speech that ushered in this memorable motion would not have disgraced a Cicero. It contained a retrospect of all the public measures which had been pursued since the Revolution. It explained the nature of every treaty, whether right or wrong, which had been concluded under the present administration. It described the political connexions subsisting between the different powers in Europe. It exposed the weakness, the misconduct, and the iniquity of the minister, both in his foreign and domestic transactions. It was embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with a noble spirit of patriot indignation. The Duke of Argyle, Lord Bathurst, and his other colleagues, seemed to be animated with uncommon fervor, and even inspired, by the subject. A man of imagination, in reading their speeches, will think himself transported into the Roman senate, before the ruin of that republic. Nevertheless, the minister still triumphed by dint of numbers; though his victory was dearly purchased. Thirty peers entered a vigorous protest; and Walpole's character sustained such a rude shock from this opposition, that his authority seemed to be drawing near a period. Immediately after this contest was decided, the Duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, that any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof of any crime or misdemeanour committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the

CHAP. VI.

AN. 1741.

BOOK fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient
 11, established usage of parliament; and is a high
 1741. infringement of the liberties of the subject. It was
 seconded by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Lovel;
 and opposed by Lord Gower, as an intended censure
 on the proceedings of the day. This sentiment was
 so warmly espoused by Lord Talbot, who had
 distinguished himself in the former debate, that he
 seemed to be transported beyond the bounds of
 moderation. He was interrupted by the Earl of
 Cholmondely, who charged him with having violated
 the order and decorum which ought to be preserved
 in such an assembly. His passion was inflamed by
 this rebuke: he declared himself an independent
 lord; a character which he would not forfeit for
 the smiles of a court, the profit of an employment,
 or the reward of a pension: he said when he was
 engaged on the side of truth, he would trample on
 the insolence that should command him to suppress
 his sentiments.—On a division, however, the motion
 was carried.

§ XXXVIII. In the beginning of April, the
 King repairing to the House of Peers, passed
 some acts that were ready for the royal assent.
 Then, in his speech to both Houses, he gave
 them to understand, that the Queen of Hungary
 had made a requisition of the twelve thousand
 men stipulated by treaty; and that he had
 ordered the subsidy-troops of Denmark and Hesse-
 Cassel to be in readiness to march to her assist-
 ance. He observed, that in this complicated an un-
 certain state of affairs, many incidents might arise,

and render it necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining the pragmatic sanction, at a time when he could not possibly have recourse to the advice and assistance of his parliament. He, therefore, demanded of the Commons such a supply as might be requisite for these ends; and promised to manage it with all possible frugality. The Lower House, in their address, approved of all his measures; declared they would effectually support him against all insults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to the support of the Queen of Hungary. Sir Robert Walpole moved, that an aid of two hundred thousand pounds should be granted to that princess. Mr. Shippen protested against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He expressed his dislike of the promise which had been made to defend his Majesty's foreign dominions; a promise in his opinion, inconsistent with that important and inviolable law, the act of settlement: a promise which, could it have been foreknown, would perhaps have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family to which the nation owed such numberless blessings, such continued felicity. The motion however passed, though not without further opposition; and the House resolved, that three hundred thousand pounds should be granted to his Majesty, to enable him effectually to support the Queen of Hungary.

CHAP.

VI.

1741.

BOOK Towards the expense of this year, a million was deducted from the sinking-fund : and the land-tax continued at four shillings in the pound. The preparations for this war had already cost five millions. The session was closed on the twenty-fifth day of April, when the King took his leave of this parliament, with warm expressions of tenderness and satisfaction. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three members of the Lower House, who had signalized themselves in defence of the minister, were now ennobled, and created barons of Montfort, Ilchester, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colchester; and the King having appointed a regency, set out in May for his German dominions *.

* Sir William Wyndham died in the preceding year, deeply regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the constant assertor of British liberty, and one of the chief ornaments of the English nation. In the course of the same year, General Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with some succours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a small squadron of the King's ships, made an attempt upon fort Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; and actually reduced some small forts in the neighbourhood of the place : but the Carolinians withdrawing in disgust, dissensions prevailing among the sea-officers, the hurricane-months approaching, and the enemy having received a supply and re-enforcement, he abandoned the enterprise, and returned to Georgia.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *The army under Lord Cathcart and Sir Chaloner Ogle proceeds to the West-Indies.* II. *Nature of the climate on the Spanish main.* III. *Admiral Vernon sails to Carthagea.* IV. *Attack of fort Lazar.* V. *Expedition to Cuba.* VI. *Rupture between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia.* VII. *Battle of Molwitz.* VIII. *The King of Great-Britain concludes a treaty of neutrality with France for the electorate of Hanover.* IX. *A body of French forces join the Elector of Bavaria.* X. *He is crowned king of Bohemia at Prague.* XI. *Fidelity of the Hungarians.* XII. *War between Russia and Sweden.* XIII. *Revolution in Russia.* XIV. *The Spanish and French squadrons pass unmolested by the English admiral in the Mediterranean.* XV. *Inactivity of the naval power of Great-Britain.* XVI. *Obstinate struggle in electing members in the new parliament.* XVII. *Remarkable motion in the House of Commons by Lord Noel Somerfet.* XVIII. *The country-party obtain a majority in the House of Commons.* XIX. *Sir Robert Walpole created Earl of Orford.* XX. *Change in the ministry.* XXI. *Inquiry into the administration of Sir Robert Walpole.* XXII. *Obstructed by the new ministry.* XXIII. *Reports of the secret committee.* XXIV. *The Elector of Bavaria chosen emperor.* XXV. *The King of Prussia gains the*

battle at Czaſlaw. Treaty at Breſlaw. XXVI. The French troops retire under the cannon of Prague. A freſh body ſent with the Mareſchal de Maillebois to bring them off. XXVII. Extraordinary retreat of M. de Belleiſle. XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain forms an army in Flanders. XXIX. Progreſs of the War between Ruſſia and Sweden. XXX. The King of Sardinia declares for the Houſe of Auſtria. XXXI. Motions of the Spaniards in Italy and Savoy. XXXII. Conduct of Admiral Matthews in the Mediterranean. XXXIII. Operations in the Weſt-Indies. XXXIV. The attention of the miniſtry turned chiefly on the affairs of the continent. XXXV. Extraordinary motion in the Houſe of Lords by Earl Stanhope. XXXVI. Warm and obſtinate debate on the repeal of the gin-act. XXXVII. Bill for quieting corporations. XXXVIII. Convention between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary. XXXIX. Difference between the King of Pruſſia and the Elector of Hanover. XL. The King of Great-Britain obtains a victory over the French at Dettingen. XLI. Treaty of Worms. XLII. Conclusion of the campaign. XLIII. Affairs in the North. XLIV. Battle of Campo-Santo. XLV. Tranſactions of the Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean. XLVI. Unſucceſſful attempts upon the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies.

CHAP. § I. **T**HE Britiſh armanent had by this time
 VII. proceeded to action in the Weſt-Indies. Sir
 1741.

Chaloner Ogle, who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay by which the fleet consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the neutral island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant Lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon General Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase, while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broad side, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colors in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe, under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral, de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other; excused themselves mutually, for

B O O K the mistake which had happened; and parted, as
 11. friends, with a considerable loss of men on both
 1741. sides.

§ II. In the mean time Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined Vice-Admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine - and - twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates fire-ships and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores, and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand: that of the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica, did not fall short of twelve thousand. Had this armament been ready to act in the proper season of the year, under the conduct of wise, experienced officers, united in councils, and steadily attached to the interest and honor of their country, the Havannah, and whole island of Cuba, might have been easily reduced: the whole treasure of the Spanish West-Indies would have been intercepted; and Spain must have been humbled into the most abject submission. But several unfavorable circumstances concurred to frustrate the hopes of the public. The ministry had detained Sir Chaloner Ogle at Spithead, without any visible cause, until the season for action was almost exhausted: for on the continent of New Spain, the periodical rains begin about

the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers, which render the climate extremely unhealthy; besides, the rain is so excessive, that for the space of two months no army can keep the field.

CHAP.

VII.

1741.

§ III. Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamacia on the ninth day of January; and Admiral Vernon did not fail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron commanded by the Marquis d'Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West-Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New - Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah: but Carthagena was strongly fortified, and the garrison re-enforced by the crews of a small squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Lefo, an officer of experience and reputation. Here the English Admiral lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of

B O O K **II.** **1741.** **Tierra Bomba**, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of *Boca chica*, or Little-mouth which was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack : but the forts and batteries were abandoned : the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken : the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were re-embarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike : far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve, and separate cabals ; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honor of the nation.

§ IV. The general complained that the fleet lay idle, while his troops were harrassed and diminished by hard duty and distemper. The admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near
 enough

enough to batter the town of Carthage: he upbraided the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by scalade. Wentworth, stimulated by these reproaches, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack: but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town: Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling-ladders were found too short: the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore: besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were, therefore, re-embarked: and all hope of further success immediately vanished. The admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the *Gallicia*, one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by Captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before

BOOK day, at a considerable distance from the walls, in
 11. very shallow water. In this position she stood
 1741. the fire of several batteries for some hours, without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea-breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water. This exploit was absurd, and the inference which the admiral drew from it altogether fallacious. He said it plainly proved, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour, sufficient to admit large ships near enough to batter the town, with any prospect of success. This, indeed was the case in that part of the harbour to which the Galicia was conducted: but a little farther to the left, he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships a-breast, within pistol-shot of the walls; and if this step had been taken, when the land-forces marched to the attack of St. Lazar, in all probability the town would have been surrendered.

§ V. After the re-embarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy perished by a more painful and inglorious fate. Nothing was heard but complaints and execrations: the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead: nothing was seen but objects of woe, and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy

retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica. The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent, and the people were depressed, in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprise which might have retrieved the honor of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river, where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November, when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and reconveyed to Jamaica. He was afterwards re-enforced from England by four ships of war, and about three thousand soldiers: but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired; and the people began to perceive that they had mistaken his character.

§ VI. The affairs on the continent of Europe were now more than ever embroiled. The King of Prussia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either obsolete or annulled;

BOOK

II.

1741.

and promised to assist the Queen with all his forces, in case she should comply with his demand: but this being rejected with disdain, he entered Silesia at the head of an army, and prosecuted his conquests with great rapidity. In the mean time, the Queen of Hungary was crowned at Presburgh, after having signed a capitulation, by which the liberties of that kingdom were confirmed; and the Grand Duke her consort was, at her request, associated with her for ten years in the government. At the same time the states of Hungary refused to receive a memorial from the Elector of Bavaria. During these transactions, his Prussian Majesty made his public entrance into Breslaw; and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals surprised the town and fortress of Jablunka, on the confines of Hungary: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deffau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the place by escalade, made the Generals Wallis and Reyski prisoners, with a thousand men that were in garrison: here, likewise, the victor found the military chest, fifty pieces of brass cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

§ VII. The Queen of Hungary had solicited the maritime powers for assistance, but found them fearful and backward. Being obliged, therefore, to exert herself with the more vigor, she ordered Count Neuperg to assemble a body of forces, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Prussians in Silesia. The two armies encountered

each other in the neighbourhood of Neifs, at a village called Molwitz; and, after an obstinate dispute, the Austrians were obliged to retire, with the loss of four thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The advantage was dearly purchased by the King of Prussia. His kinsman, Frederic Margrave of Brandenburg, and Lieutenant-General Schuylemberg were killed in the engagement, together with a great number of general officers, and about two thousand soldiers. After this action, Brieg was surrendered to the Prussian, and he forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand Austrian buffars. The English and Dutch ministers, who accompanied him in his progress, spared no pains to effect an accommodation: but the two sovereigns were too much irritated against each other to acquiesce in any terms that could be proposed. The Queen of Hungary was incensed to find herself attacked, in the day of her distress, by a prince to whom she had given no sort of provocation; and his Prussian Majesty charged the court of Vienna with a design either to assassinate, or carry him off by treachery: a design which was disowned with expressions of indignation and disdain. Count Neuperg being obliged to abandon Silesia, in order to oppose the Bavarian arms in Bohemia, the King of Prussia sent thither a detachment to join the Elector, under the command of Count Dessau, who, in his route, reduced Glatz and Neifs, almost without opposition: then his master received the homage of the Silesian states at Breslaw, and

BOOK. returned to Berlin. In December, the Prussian army
 11. was distributed in winter-quarters in Moravia, after
 1741. having taken Olmutz, the capital of that province;
 and in March his Prussian Majesty formed a camp of
 observation in the neighbourhood of Magdeburgh.

§ VIII. The Elector of Hanover was alarmed at
 the success of the King of Prussia, in apprehension
 that he would become too formidable a neighbour.
 A scheme was said to have been proposed to the court
 of Vienna, for attacking that prince's electoral
 dominions, and dividing the conquest: but it never
 was put in execution. Nevertheless, the troops
 of Hanover were augmented: the auxiliary Danes
 and Hessians in the pay of Great-Britain were ordered
 to be in readiness to march; and a good number of
 British forces encamped and prepared for embarkation.
 The subsidy of three hundred thousand
 pounds, granted by parliament, was remitted to
 the Queen of Hungary; and every thing seemed to
 presage the vigorous interposition of his Britannic
 Majesty. But in a little time after his arrival at Han-
 over, that spirit of action seemed to flag, even while
 her Hungarian Majesty tottered on the verge of
 ruin. France resolved to seize this opportunity of
 crushing the house of Austria. In order to intimidate
 the Elector of Hanover, Marechal Maillebois was
 sent with a numerous army into Westphalia; and
 this expedient proved effectual. A treaty of neutral-
 ity was concluded; and the King of Great-Britain
 engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the
 ensuing election of an emperor. The design of the
 French court was to raise this prince to the Imperial

dignity, and furnish him with such succours as should enable him to deprive the Queen of Hungary of her hereditary dominions. CHAP. VII. 1741.

§ IX. While the French minister at Vienna endeavoured to amuse the Queen with the strongest assurances of his master's friendship, a body of five-and-thirty thousand men began their march for Germany, in order to join the Elector of Bavaria: another French army was assembled upon the Rhine; and the Count de Belleisle being provided with large sums of money, was sent to negotiate with different electors. Having thus secured a majority of voices, he proceeded to Munich, where he presented the Elector of Bavaria with a commission, appointing him generalissimo of the French troops marching to his assistance; and now the treaty of Nymphenburgh was concluded. The French King engaged to assist the Elector with his whole power, towards raising him to the Imperial throne: the Elector promised, that after his elevation he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire which France had conquered: that he would, in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier-treaty; and agree that France should irrevocably retain whatever places she should subdue in the Austrian Netherlands. The next step of Belleisle was to negotiate another treaty between France and Prussia, importing, That the Elector of Bavaria should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese: That the King of Poland should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his

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BOOK Prussian Majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with
II. the town of Neifs and the county of Glatz. These
1741. precautions being taken, the Count de Belleisle repaired to Franckfort, in quality of ambassador and plenipotentiary from France, at the Imperial diet of election. It was in this city that the French King published a declaration, signifying, that as the King of Great-Britain had assembled an army to influence the approaching election of an emperor, his Most Christian Majesty, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, had ordered some troops to advance towards the Rhine, with a view to maintain the tranquillity of the Germanic body, and secure the freedom of the Imperial election.

§ X. In July the Elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under Marechal Broglio, surprised the imperial city of Passau, upon the Danube: and entering Upper Austria, at the head of seventy thousand men, took possession of Lintz, where he received the homage of the states of that country. Understanding that the garrison of Vienna was very numerous, and that Count Palfi had assembled thirty thousand Hungarians in the neighbourhood of this capital, he made no farther progress in Austria, but marched into Bohemia, where he was re-enforced by a considerable body of Saxons, under the command of Count Rutowski, natural son to the late King of Poland. By this time his Polish Majesty had acceded to the treaty of Nymphenburgh, and declared war against the Queen of Hungary, on the most frivolous pretences. The Elector of Bavaria advanced to Prague,

which was taken in the night by escalade: an achievement in which Maurice Count of Saxe, another natural son of the King of Poland, distinguished himself at the head of the French forces. In December the Elector of Bavaria made his public entry into his capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities; then he set out for Franckfort, to be present at the diet of election.

CHAP.

VI.

1742.

§ XI. At this period the Queen of Hungary saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and seemingly devoted to destruction. She was not, however, forsaken by her courage; nor destitute of good officers, and an able ministry. She retired to Presburgh, and in a pathetic Latin speech to the states, expressed her confidence in the loyalty and valor of her Hungarian subjects. The nobility of that kingdom, touched with her presence and distress, assured her unanimously, that they would sacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The ban being raised, that brave people crowded to her standard; and the diet expressed their resentment against her enemy by a public edict, excluding for ever the electoral house of Bavaria from the succession to the crown of Hungary: yet, without the subsidy she received from Great-Britain, their courage and attachment would have proved ineffectual. By this supply she was enabled to pay her army, erect magazines, complete her warlike preparations, and put her strong places in a posture of defence. In December her generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated Count Thoring, who

BOOK commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of
II. Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria,
1745. laid the whole country under contribution; while
 Count Khevenhuller retook the city of Lintz, and
 drove the French troops out of Austria. The Grand
 Signor assured the Queen of Hungary, that far from
 taking advantage of her troubles, he should seize all
 opportunities to convince her of his friendship: the
 Pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues
 of the clergy within her dominions; and even to use
 all the church-plate for the support of the war.

§ XII. As the Czarina expressed an inclination
 to assist this unfortunate princess, the French
 court resolved to find her employment in another
 quarter. They had already gained over to their
 interest Count Gyllenburgh, prime minister and
 president of the chancery in Sweden. A dispute
 happening between him and Mr. Burnaby, the
 British resident at Stockholm, some warm alterca-
 tion passed: M. Burnaby was forbid the court,
 and published a memorial in his own vindication:
 on the other hand, the King of Sweden justified
 his conduct in a rescript sent to all the foreign
 ministers. The King of Great-Britain had propos-
 ed a subsidy-treaty to Sweden, which, from the
 influence of French councils, was rejected. The
 Swedes having assembled a numerous army in
 Finland, and equipped a large squadron of ships,
 declared war against Russia, upon the most trifling
 pretences; and the fleet putting to sea, commenced
 hostilities by blocking up the Russian ports in Livonia.
 A body of eleven thousand Swedes, commanded

by General Wrangel, having advanced to Willmenstrand, were in August attacked and defeated by General Laszi, at the head of thirty thousand Russians. Count Lœwenhaupt, who commanded the main army of the Swedes, resolved to take vengeance for this disgrace, after the Russian troops had retired into winter-quarters. In December he marched towards Wyburgh: but, receiving letters from the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, and the Marquis de la Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburg, informing him of the surprising revolution which had just happened in Russia, and proposing a suspension of hostilities; he retreated with his army, in order to wait for further instructions; and the two courts agreed to a cessation of arms for three months.

CHAP.
VII.
1741.

§ XIII. The Russians had been for some time discontented with their government. The late Czarina was influenced chiefly by German councils, and employed a great number of foreigners in her service. These causes of discontent produced factions and conspiracies; and when they were discovered, the Empress treated the authors of them with such severity as increased the general disaffection. Besides, they were displeased at the manner in which she had settled the succession. The Prince of Brunswick Lunenburgh-Bevern, father to the young Czar, was not at all agreeable to the Russian nobility, and his consort, the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, having assumed the reins of government during her son's minority, seemed to follow the maxims of her aunt, the late Czarina.

BOOK The Russian grandees and generals, therefore,
II. turned their eyes upon the princess Elisabeth,
1741. who was daughter of Peter the Great, and the
darling of the empire. The French ambassador gladly
concurred in a project for deposing a princess who
was well affected to the house of Austria. General
Lasce approved of the design, which was chiefly
conducted by the Prince of Hesse-Homburg,
who, in the reigns of the Empress Catharine
and Peter II. had been generalissimo of the Russian
army. The good will and concurrence of the
troops being secured, two regiments of guards
took possession of all the avenues of the Imperial
palace at Petersburg. The Princess Elisabeth,
putting herself at the head of one thousand men,
on the fifth day of December entered the winter-
palace, where the Princess of Mecklenburgh and
the infant Czar resided. She advanced into the
chamber where the Princess and her consort lay
and desired them to rise, and quit the palace,
adding, that their persons were safe; and that
they could not justly blame her for asserting her
right. At the same time, the Counts Osterman,
Golofkin, Mingden; and Munich were arrested;
their papers and effects were seized, and their
persons conveyed to Schlussemburg, a fortress
on the Neva. Early in the morning the senate
assembling, declared all that had passed since
the reign of Peter II. to be usurpation; and that
the imperial dignity belonged of right to the Prin-
cess Elisabeth: she was immediately proclaimed
Empress of all the Russias, and recognized by the

army in Finland. She forthwith published a general act of indemnity : she created the Prince of Hesse-Homburg generalissimo of her armies : she restored the Dolgorucky family to their honors and estates : she recalled and rewarded all those who had been banished for favoring her pretensions : she mitigated the exile of the Duke of Courland, by indulging him with a maintenance more suitable to his rank : she released General Wrangel, Count Wafaburgh, and the other Swedish officers, who had been taken at the battle of Willmenstrand : and the Princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, with her consort and children, were sent under a strong guard, to Riga, the capital of Livonia.

§ XIV. Amidst these tempests of war and revolution, the States-General wisely determined to preserve their own tranquillity. It was, doubtless, their interest to avoid the dangers and expense of a war, and to profit by that stagnation of commerce which would necessarily happen among their neighbours that were at open enmity with each other : besides, they were over-awed by the declarations of the French monarch on one side ; by the power, activity and pretensions of his Prussian Majesty on the other ; and they dreaded the prospect of a Stadtholder at the head of their army. These at least were the sentiments of many Dutch patriots, re-enforced by others that acted under French influence. But the Prince of Orange numbered among his partisans and adherents many persons of dignity and credit in the commonwealth : he was adored by the populace, who loudly

BOOK exclaimed against their governors, and clamored
 II. for a war, without ceasing. This national spirit,
 1741. joined to the remonstrances and requisitions made
 by the courts of Vienna and London, obliged the
 States to issue orders for an augmentation of their
 forces: but these were executed so slowly, that
 neither France nor Prussia had much cause to take
 umbrage at their preparations. In Italy the King
 of Sardinia declared for the house of Austria: the
 republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French
 interest: the Pope, the Venetians, and the
 dukedom of Tuscany were neutral: the King of
 Naples resolved to support the claim of his family
 to the Austrian dominions in Italy, and began to
 make preparations accordingly. His mother, the
 Queen of Spain, had formed a plan for erecting
 these dominions into a monarchy for her second
 son Don Philip; and a body of fifteen thousand men
 being embarked at Barcelona, were transported to
 Orbitello, under the convoy of the united squadrons
 of France and Spain. While Admiral Haddock,
 with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the
 bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the straits
 in the night, and was joined by the French
 squadron from Toulon. The British admiral sailing
 from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days,
 and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle.
 As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the
 French admiral sent a flag of truce, to inform him,
 that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in
 a joint-expedition, he should be obliged to act
 in concert with his master's allies. This interposition

prevented an engagement. The combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron, Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover¹.

§ XV. The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of Commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizzaro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He accordingly steered the

¹ In the month of July two ships of Haddock's squadron falling in with three French ships of war, Captain Barnet, the English commodore, supposing them to be Spanish-register-ships, fired a shot, in order to bring them to; and they refusing to comply with this signal, a sharp engagement ensued: after they had fought several hours, the French commander ceased firing, and thought proper to come to an explanation, when he and Barnet parted with mutual apologies.

In the course of this year a dangerous conspiracy was discovered at New-York, in North-America. One Hewson a low publican, had engaged several negroes in a design to destroy the town, and massacre the people. Fire was set to several parts of the city: nine or ten negroes were apprehended, convicted, and burned alive. Hewson, with his wife, and a servant-maid, privy to the plot, were found guilty and hanged, though they died protesting their innocence.

BOOK same course, and actually fell in with one or two
II. ships of the British armament, near the straits of
1741. Magellan: but he could not weather a long and
 furious tempest, through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South-Sea. One of the Spanish ships perished at sea: another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil; and Pizzaro bore away for the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived with the three remaining ships, in a shattered condition, after having lost twelve hundred men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great-Britain, valued at near four millions of piastras. The traders had, therefore, too much cause to complain, considering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the course of the summer, Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy, as if the sole intention of the ministry had been to expose the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the British arms appears the more inexcusable, when we consider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great-Britain, exclusive of the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the fleet consisted of above one hundred ships of war, manned by fifty-four thousand sailors.

§ XVI.

§ XVI. The general discontent of the people had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new parliament, which produced one of the most violent contests between the two parties, which had happened since the Revolution. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales concurred with the country-party, in opposition to the minister; and the Duke of Argyle exerted himself so successfully among the shires and boroughs of Scotland, that the partisans of the ministry could not secure six members out of the whole number returned from North-Britain. They were, however, much more fortunate in the election of the sixteen peers, who were chosen literally according to the list transmitted from court. Instructions were delivered by the constituents to a great number of members returned for cities and counties, exhorting and requiring them to oppose a standing army in time of peace; to vote for the mitigation of excise-laws; for the repeal of septennial parliaments; and for the limitation of placemen in the House of Commons. They, likewise, insisted upon their examining into the particulars of the public expense, and endeavouring to redress the grievances of the nation. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the united kingdom with uncommon ardor and perseverance; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that notwithstanding the whole weight of ministerial influence, the contrary interest seemed to preponderate in the new parliament.

§ XVII. The King returned to England in the month of October; and on the first day of December

VOL. IV.

M

BOOK the session was opened. Mr. Onslow being re-
 11. chosen speaker was approved of by his Majesty,
 1741. who spoke in the usual style to both Houses. He
 observed, that the former parliament had formed
 the strongest resolutions in favor of the Queen
 of Hungary, for the maintenance of the pragmatic
 sanction; for the preservation of the balance of
 power, and the peace and liberties of Europe;
 and that if the other powers which were under
 the like engagements with him had answered the
 just expectations so solemnly given, the support
 of the common cause would have been attend-
 ed with less difficulty. He said, he had endea-
 voured, by the most proper and early applications,
 to induce other powers that were united with
 him by the ties of common interest to concert
 such measures as so important and critical a con-
 juncture required: that where an accommodation
 seemed necessary, he had labored to reconcile
 princes whose union would have been the most
 effectual means to prevent the mischiefs which
 happened, and the best security for the interest
 and safety of the whole. He owned his endeavours
 had not hitherto produced the desired effect;
 though he was not without hope, that a just
 sense of approaching danger would give a more
 favorable turn to the councils of other nations.
 He represented the necessity of putting the king-
 dom in such a posture of defence as would enable
 him to improve all opportunities of maintaining
 the liberties of Europe, and defeat any attempts
 that should be made against him and his dominions;

and he recommended unanimity, vigor, and dispatch. The House of Commons having appointed their several committees, the Speaker reported the King's speech; and Mr. Herbert moved for an address of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been prosecuted. The motion being seconded by Mr. Trevor, Lord Noel Somerset stood up and moved that the House would in their address desire his Majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. He was supported by that incorruptible patriot, Mr. Shippen, who declared he was neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm, that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said he was grown old in the House of Commons; that time had verified predictions he had formerly uttered; and that he had seen his conjectures ripened into knowledge. "If my country (added he) has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her interest to men who propose to themselves no advantage from their trust but that of selling it, I may, perhaps, fall once more under censure for declaring my opinion, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for maintaining that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the happiness of this nation; and for preserving the caution so strongly inculcated by those patriots who framed the act of settlement, and conferred upon the present royal family their title to the throne." He particularized the instances in which the ministry

M 2

BOOK had acted in diametrical opposition to that necessary
 11. constitution: and he insisted on the necessity of
 1741. taking some step to remove the apprehensions of
 the people, who began to think themselves in
 danger of being sacrificed to the security of foreign
 dominions. Mr. Gibbon, who spoke on the same
 side of the question, expatiated upon the absurd-
 ity of returning thanks for the prosecution of a
 war which had been egregiously mismanaged.
 "What! (said he) are our thanks to be solemnly
 "returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses, the
 "ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of
 "our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless
 "expenses?" Sir Robert Walpole having made
 a short speech in defence of the first motion for
 an address, was answered by Mr. Pulteney, who
 seemed to be animated with a double proportion
 of patriot indignation. He asserted, that from a
 review of that minister's conduct since the begin-
 ning of the dispute with Spain, it would appear
 that he had been guilty not only of single errors,
 but of deliberate treachery: that he had always
 co-operated with the enemies of his country,
 and sacrificed to his private interest the happiness
 and honor of the British nation. He then entered
 into a detail of that conduct against which he had
 so often declaimed; and being transported by an
 over-heated imagination, accused him of personal
 attachment and affection to the enemies of the
 kingdom. A charge that was doubtless the result
 of exaggerated animosity, and served only to in-
 validate the other articles of imputation that were

much better founded. His objections were overruled; and the address, as at first proposed, was presented to his Majesty.

§ XVIII. This small advantage, however, the minister did not consider as a proof of his having ascertained an undoubted majority in the House of Commons. There was a great number of disputed elections; and the discussion of these was the point on which the people had turned their eyes, as the criterion of the minister's power and credit. In the first which was heard at the bar of the House, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. His enemies exulted in their strength: as they knew they should be joined, in matters of importance, by several members who voted against them on this occasion. The inconsiderable majority that appeared on the side of the administration plainly proved that the influence of the minister was greatly diminished, and seemed to prognosticate his further decline. This consideration induced some individuals to declare against him as a setting sun, from whose beams they could expect no further warmth. His adherents began to tremble; and he himself had occasion for all his art and equanimity. The court-interest was not sufficient to support the election of their own members for Westminster. The high-bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll; and three justices of the peace had, on pretence of preventing riots, sent for a military force to over-awe the election. A petition

BOOK

II.

3741.

presented by the electors of Westminster was taken into consideration by the House; and the election was declared void by a majority of four voices. The high-bailiff was taken into custody: the officer who ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices who signed the letter, in consequence of which he acted, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the House.

§ XIX. The country-party maintained the advantage they had gained in deciding upon several other controverted elections, and Sir Robert Walpole tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time commit him prisoner to the Tower, should ever the motion be made; and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient but that of dividing the opposition. Towards the accomplishment of this purpose he employed all his credit and dexterity. His emissaries did not fail to tamper with those members of the opposite party who were the most likely to be converted by their arguments. A message was sent by the Bishop of Oxford to the Prince of Wales, importing, That if his royal highness would write a letter of condescension to the King, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favor; that fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; four times that sum be disbursed immediately for the payment of his debts; and suitable provision be made in due time for all his followers. The Prince declined this proposal. He declared that he

would accept no such conditions while Sir Robert Walpole continued to direct the public affairs: that he looked upon him as a bar between his Majesty and the affections of his people; as the author of the national grievances both at home and abroad; and as the sole cause of the contempt which Great-Britain had incurred in all the courts of Europe. His royal highness was now chief of this formidable party, revered by the whole nation — a party which had gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons which professed to act upon the principles of public virtue; which demanded the fall of an odious minister, as a sacrifice due to an injured people; and declared that no temptation could shake their virtue; that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united. Sir Robert Walpole, though repulsed in his attempt upon the Prince of Wales, was more successful in his other endeavours. He resolved to try his strength once more in the House of Commons, in another disputed election; and had the mortification to see the majority augmented to sixteen voices. He declared he would never more sit in that House; and next day, which was the third of February, the King adjourned both Houses of parliament to the eighteenth day of the same month. In this interim Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

CHAP.
VII.
1741.

§ XX. At no time of his life did he acquit himself with such prudential policy as he now

BOOK

II.

1741.

displayed. He found means to separate the parts that composed the opposition, and to transfer the popular odium from himself to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. The country-party consisted of the Tories, re-enforced by discontented Whigs, who had either been disappointed in their own ambitious views, or felt for the distresses of their country, occasioned by a weak and worthless administration. The old patriots, and the Whigs whom they had joined, acted upon very different, and, indeed, upon opposite principles of government; and therefore, they were united only by the ties of convenience. A coalition was projected between the discontented Whigs and those of the same denomination who acted in the ministry. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that in the management of affairs a new system would be adopted, according to the plan they themselves should propose. The court required nothing of them, but that the Earl of Orford should escape with impunity. His place of Chancellor of the Exchequer was bestowed upon Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the Treasury: and the Earl of Wilmington succeeded him as first commissioner of that board. Lord Harrington being dignified with the title of Earl, was declared president of the council; and in his room Lord Carteret became secretary of state. The Duke of Argyle was made master-general of the Ordnance, colonel of his Majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, field-marshal and commander

in chief of all the forces in South-Britain; but, finding himself disappointed in his expectations of the coalition, he, in less than a month, renounced all these employments. The Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed secretary of state for Scotland, a post which had been long suppressed: Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy-council, and afterwards created Earl of Bath. The Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the Admiralty in the room of Sir Charles Wager; and, after the resignation of the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Stair was appointed field-marshal of all his majesty's forces, as well as ambassador-extraordinary to the States-general. On the seventeenth day of February the Prince of Wales attended by a numerous retinue of his adherents, waited on his Majesty, who received him graciously, and ordered his guards to be restored; Lord Carteret and Mr. Sandys were the first who embraced the offers of the court without the consent or privity of any other leaders in the opposition, except that of Mr. Pulteney; but they declared to their friends, they would still proceed upon patriot principles: that they would concur in promoting an inquiry into past measures; and in enacting necessary laws to secure the constitution from the practices of corruption. These professions were believed, not only by their old coadjutors in the House of Commons, but also by the nation in general. The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales together with the change in the ministry, were celebrated with public rejoicings all over the kingdom;

BOOK and immediately after the adjournment nothing but concord appeared in the House of Commons.

II.

1741.

§ XXI. But this harmony was of short duration. It soon appeared, that those who had declaimed the loudest for the liberties of their country had been actuated solely by the most fordid, and even the most ridiculous motives of self-interest. Jealousy and mutual distrust ensued between them and their former confederates. The nation complained, that, instead of a total change of men and measures, they saw the old ministry strengthened by this coalition; and the same interest in parliament predominating with redoubled influence. They branded the new converts as apostates and betrayers of their country; and, in the transports of their indignation, they entirely over-looked the old object of their resentment. That a nobleman of pliant principles, narrow fortune, and unbounded ambition, should forsake his party for the blandishments of affluence, power, and authority, will not appear strange to any person acquainted with the human heart; but the sensible part of mankind will always reflect with amazement upon the conduct of a man, who seeing himself idolized by his fellow-citizens, as the first and firmest patriot in the kingdom, as one of the most shining ornaments of his country, could give up all his popularity, and incur the contempt or detestation of mankind, for the wretched consideration of an empty title, without office, influence, or the least substantial appendage. One cannot, without an emotion of grief, contemplate such an instance of infatuation — One cannot but lament, that

such glory should have been so weakly forfeited: that such talents should have been lost to the cause of liberty and virtue. Doubtless, he flattered himself with the hope of one day directing the councils of his sovereign; but this was never accomplished, and he remained a solitary monument of blasted ambition. Before the change in the ministry, Mr. Pulteney moved that the several papers relating to the conduct of the war, which had been laid before the House, should be referred to a select committee, who should examine strictly into the particulars, and make a report to the House of their remarks, and objections. The motion introduced a debate; but, upon a division, was rejected by a majority of three voices. Petitions having been presented by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the losses they had sustained by the bad conduct of the war, the House resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on these remonstrances. The articles of the London-petition were explained by Mr. Glover an eminent merchant of that city. Six days were spent in perusing papers and examining witnesses: then the same gentleman summed up the evidence, and in a pathetic speech endeavoured to demonstrate, that the commerce of Great-Britain had been exposed to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards, not by inattention or accident, but by one uniform and continued design. This inquiry being resumed after the adjournment, copies of instructions to admirals and captains of cruising ships were laid

CHAP.
VII.
1741.

BOOK
II.

before the House: the Commons passed several resolutions, upon which a bill was prepared for the better protecting and securing the trade and navigation of the kingdom. It made its way through the Lower House; but was thrown out by the Lords. The pension - bill was revived and sent up to the Peers, where it was again rejected, Lord Carteret voting against that very measure which he had so lately endeavoured to promote. On the ninth day of March, Lord Limeric made a motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the conduct of affairs for the last twenty years: he was seconded by Sir John St. Aubin, and supported by Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Phillips, Mr. W. Pitt, and Lord Percival, the new member for Westminster, who had already signalized himself by his eloquence and capacity. The motion was opposed by Sir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox, surveyor-general to his Majesty's works, and brother to Lord Ilchester. Though the opposition was faint and frivolous, the proposal was rejected by a majority of two voices. Lord Limeric, not yet discouraged, made a motion, on the twenty-third day of March for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, for the last ten years of his administration; and, after a sharp debate, it was carried in the affirmative. The House resolved to chuse a secret committee by ballot; and in the mean time presented an address to the King, assuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

AN. 1742.

§ XXII. Sir Robert Godschall having moved

for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the act for septennial parliaments, he was seconded by Sir John Barnard; but warmly opposed by Mr. Pulsteney and Mr. Sandys; and the question passed in the negative. The committee of secrecy being chosen, began to examine evidence, and Mr. Paxton, solicitor to the Treasury, refusing to answer such questions as were put to him, Lord Limeric, chairman of the committee, complained to the House of his obstinacy. He was first taken into custody, and still persisting in his refusal, committed to Newgate. Then his lordship moved that leave should be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying evidence against the Earl of Orford; and it was actually prepared by a decision of the majority. In the House of Lords it was vigorously opposed by Lord Carteret, and as strenuously supported by the Duke of Argyle; but fell upon a division, by the weight of superior numbers. Those members in the House of Commons who heartily wished that the inquiry might be prosecuted were extremely incensed at the fate of this bill. A committee was appointed to search the journals of the Lords for precedents: their report being read, Lord Strange son of the Earl of Derby, moved for a resolution, "That the Lords refusing to concur with the Commons of Great-Britain, in an indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the inquiry, now depending in parliament, is an obstruction to justice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation." — This motion, which was seconded by Lord Quarendon, son of the Earl of

BOOK. Lichfield gave rise to a warm debate; and Mr.
II. Sandys declaimed against it, as a step that would
1742. bring on an immediate dissolution of the present form of government. It is really amazing to see with what effrontery some men can shift their maxims, and openly contradict the whole tenor of their former conduct. Mr. Sandys did not pass uncensured: he sustained some severe sarcasms on his apostacy, from Sir John Hynde Cotton, who refuted all his objections: nevertheless, the motion passed in the negative. Notwithstanding this great obstruction, purposely thrown in the way of the inquiry, the secret committee discovered many flagrant instances of fraud and corruption in which the Earl of Orford had been concerned. It appeared that he had granted fraudulent contracts for paying the troops in the West-Indies: that he had employed iniquitous arts to influence elections: that for secret-service, during the last ten years, he had touched one million four hundred fifty-three thousand four hundred pounds of the public money: that above fifty thousand pounds of this sum had been paid to authors and printers of news-papers and political tracts written in defence of the ministry: that on the very day which preceded his resignation he had signed orders on the civil-list revenues for above thirty thousand pounds: but as the cash remaining in the Exchequer did not much exceed fourteen thousand pounds, he had raised the remaining part of the thirty thousand, by pawning the orders to a banker. The committee proceeded to make further

progress in their scrutiny,* and had almost prepared a third report, when they were interrupted by the prorogation of parliament.

CHAP.
VII.
1744.

§ XXIII. The ministry, finding it was necessary to take some step for conciliating the affection of the people, gave way to a bill for excluding certain officers from seats in the House of Commons. They passed another for encouraging the linen manufacture; a third for regulating the trade of the plantations; and a fourth to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thousand seamen, and sixty-two thousand five hundred landmen for the service of the current year. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and voted five hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary. The expense of the year amounted to near six millions, raised by the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, by the malt-tax, by one million from the sinking-fund, by annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thousand pounds, and a loan of one million six hundred thousand pounds from the Bank. In the month of July, John Lord Gower was appointed keeper of his Majesty's privy-seal: Allen Lord Bathurst was made captain of the band of pensioners; and on the fifteenth day of the month, Mr. Pulteney took his seat in the House of Peers, as Earl of Bath. The King closed the session in the usual way, after having given them to understand, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia, under his mediation; and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance afforded by the British nation.

BOOK
II.
1742.

§ XXIV. By this time great changes had happened in the affairs of the continent. The Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor of Germany at Frankfort on the Maine, and crowned by the name of Charles VII. on the twelfth day of February. Thither the imperial diet was removed from Ratisbon: they confirmed his election, and indulged him with a subsidy of fifty Roman months, amounting to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the mean time, the Austrian general, Khevenhuller, ravaged his electorate, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of Bavaria: he likewise laid part of the Palatinate under contribution, in resentment for that Elector's having sent a body of his troops to re-enforce the Imperial army. In March, Count Saxe, with a detachment of French and Bavarians, reduced Egra; and the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Bavaria, though they afterwards returned. Khevenhuller took post in the neighbourhood of Passau, and detached General Bernclau to Dinglefing on the Iser, to observe the motions of the enemy who were now become extremely formidable. In May a detachment of French and Bavarians advanced to the castle of Hilkersbergh on the Danube, with a view to take possession of a bridge over the river: the Austrian garrison immediately marched out to give them battle, and a severe action ensued, in which the Imperialists were defeated.

§ XXV. In the beginning of the year the Queen of Hungary had assembled two considerable armies in Moravia and Bohemia. Prince Charles of Lorraine,

Lorraine, at the head of fifty thousand men, advanced against the Saxons and Prussians, who thought proper to retire with precipitation from Moravia, which they had invaded. Then the Prince took the route to Bohemia, and Marechal Broglio, who commanded the French forces in that country, must have fallen a sacrifice, had not the King of Prussia received a strong re-enforcement, and entered that kingdom before his allies could be attacked. The two armies advanced towards each other, and, on the seventeenth of May, joined battle at Czaflaw, where the Austrians at first gained a manifest advantage; and penetrated as far as the Prussian baggage; then the irregulars began to plunder so eagerly: that they neglected every other consideration. The Prussian infantry took this opportunity to rally; the battle was renewed, and after a very obstinate contest, the victory was snatched out of the hands of the Austrians, who were obliged to retire, with the loss of five thousand men killed, and twelve hundred taken by the enemy. The Prussians paid dear for the honor of remaining on the field of battle; and from the circumstances of this action the King is said to have conceived a disgust to the war. When the Austrians made such progress in the beginning of the engagement, he rode off with great expedition, until he was recalled by a message from his general, the Count de Schwerin assuring his Majesty that there was no danger of a defeat. Immediately after this battle, he discovered an inclination to accommodate all differences with the

BOOK

II.

1742.

Queen of Hungary. The Earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the court of Great-Britain, who accompanied him in this campaign and was vested with full powers by her Hungarian Majesty, did not fail to cultivate this favorable disposition; and on the first day of June, a treaty of peace between the two powers was concluded at Breslaw. The Queen ceded to his Prussian Majesty the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz in Bohemia; and he charged himself with the payment of the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late Emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the King of Great-Britain Elector of Hanover, the Czarina, the King of Denmark, the States-General, the house of Wolfenbuttle, and the King of Poland Elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

§ XXVI. The King of Prussia recalled his troops; while Marechal Broglie, who commanded the French auxiliaries in that kingdom, and the Count de Belleisle, abandoned their magazines and baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they intrenched themselves in an advantageous situation; and Prince Charles being joined by the other body of Austrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them, on the hills of Girsnitz. The Grand Duke of Tuscany arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to

surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they possessed in Bohemia, provided they might be allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. The proposal was rejected and Prague invested on all sides about the end of July. Though the operations of the siege were carried on in an awkward and slovenly manner, the place was so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion, had not very extraordinary efforts been made for their relief. The Emperor had made advances to the Queen of Hungary. He promised that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore Bavaria: but these conditions were declined by the court of Vienna. The King of France was no sooner apprized of the condition to which the Generals Broglio and Belleisle were reduced, than he sent orders to Marechal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate were joined by the French and Imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine, having received intelligence of their junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to maintain the blockade of Prague under the command of General Festinitz, while he himself, with the rest of his army, advanced to Haydon on the frontiers of Bohemia. There he was joined by Count Khevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the

CHAR:
VII.
1742.

B O O K enemy, now commanded by Count Seckendorff, and the Count de Saxe. Seckendorff, however, was sent back to Bavaria, while Mareschal Maillebois entered Bohemia on the twenty-fifth day of September. But he marched with such precaution, that Prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Mean while Festitz, for want of sufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois advanced as far as Kadan : but seeing the Austrians possessed of all the passes of the mountains, he marched back to the Palatinate, and was miserably harassed in his retreat by Prince Charles, who had left a strong body with Prince Lobkowitz, to watch the motions of Belleisle and Broglio.

§ XXVII. These generals seeing themselves surrounded on all hands, returned to Prague from whence Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and was sent to command the army of Maillebois, who was by this time disgraced. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between that place and the adjacent country, that in a little time the French troops were reduced to great extremity, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provision. They were already reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, and unclean animals; and they had no other prospect but that of perishing by famine or war, when their commander formed the scheme of a retreat which was actually put in execution. Having taken

some artful precautions to deceive the enemy, he, in the middle of December, departed from Prague at midnight, with about fourteen thousand men, thirty pieces of artillery, and some of the principal citizens as hostages for the safety of nine hundred soldiers whom he had left in garrison. Notwithstanding the difficulties he must have encountered at that season of the year, in a broken and unfrequented road, which he purposely chose, he marched with such expedition, that he had gained the passes of the mountains, before he was overtaken by the horse and hussars of Prince Lobkowitz. The fatigue and hardships which the miserable soldiers underwent are inexpressible. A great number perished in the snow, and many hundreds, fainting with weariness cold, and hunger, were left to the mercy of the Austrian irregulars, consisting of the most barbarous people on the face of the earth. The Count de Belleisle, though tortured with the hip-gout, behaved with surprising resolution and activity. He caused himself to be carried in a litter to every place where he thought his presence was necessary, and made such dispositions, that the pursuers never could make an impression upon the body of his troops: but all his artillery, baggage, and even his own equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of December, he arrived at Egra, from whence he proceeded to Alsace without further molestation: but, when he returned to Versailles, he met with a very cold reception, notwithstanding the gallant exploit which he had performed. After his escape, Lobkowitz returned

C H A P.

VII.

1742.

BOOK to Prague, and the small garrison which Belleisle
II. had left in that place surrendered upon honorable
1742. terms ; so that this capital reverted to the house
 of Austria.

§ XXVIII. The King of Great-Britain resolving to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands, had, in the month of April, ordered sixteen thousand effective men to be embarked for that country : but, as this step was taken without any previous concert with the States-General, the Earl of Stair destined to the command of the forces in Flanders, was in the mean time appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their High - Mightinesses, in order to persuade them to co-operate vigorously in the plan which his Britannic Majesty had formed — A plan by which Great - Britain was engaged as a principal in a foreign dispute, and entailed upon herself the whole burden of an expensive war, big with ruin and disgrace. England, from being the umpire, was now become a party in all continental quarrels; and, instead of trimming the balance of Europe, lavished away her blood and treasure in supporting the interest and allies of a puny electorate in the north of Germany. The King of Prussia had been at variance with the Elector of Hanover. The duchy of Mecklenburgh was the avowed subject of dispute: but his Prussian Majesty is said to have had other more provoking causes of complaint, which, however, he did not think proper to divulge. The King of Great-Britain found it convenient to accommodate these differences. In the course of this summer, the

two powers concluded a convention, in consequence of which the troops of Hanover evacuated Mecklenburgh, and three regiments of Brandenburg took possession of those bailiwicks that were mortgaged to the King of Prussia. The Electorate of Hanover being now secured from danger, sixteen thousand troops of that country, together with the six thousand auxiliary Hessians, began their march for the Netherlands; and about the middle of October arrived in the neighbourhood of Brussels, where they encamped. The Earl of Stair repaired to Ghent, where the British forces were quartered: a body of Austrians was assembled; and though the season was far advanced, he seemed determined upon some expedition: but all of a sudden the troops were sent into winter-quarters. The Austrians retired to Luxemburg: the English and Hessians remained in Flanders; and the Hanoverians marched into the country of Liege, without paying any regard to the Bishop's protestation.

CHAP.
VII.
1742.

§ XXIX. The States-General had made a considerable augmentation of their forces by sea and land; but, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Earl of Stair, they resolved to adhere to their neutrality: they dreaded the neighbourhood of the French; and they were far from being pleased to see the English get footing in the Netherlands. The friends of the house of Orange began to exert themselves: the states of Groningen and West-Friesland protested, in favor of the Prince, against the promotion of foreign generals which had lately been made: but his interest was powerfully opposed

BOOK II. 1742. by the provinces of Zealand and Holland, which had the greatest weight in the republic. The revolution in Russia did not put an end to the war with Sweden. These two powers had agreed to an armistice of three months, during which the Czarina augmented her forces in Finland. She likewise ordered the Counts Osterman and Munich, with their adherents, to be tried: they were condemned to death, but pardoned on the scaffold, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Swedes still encouraged by the intrigues of France, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless Carelia, and the other conquests of the Czar Peter, should be restored. The French court had expected to bring over the new empress to their measures: but they found her as well disposed as her predecessor to assist the house of Austria. She remitted a considerable sum of money to the Queen of Hungary; and at the same time congratulated the Elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. The ceremony of her coronation was performed in May, with great solemnity, at Moscow; and in November, she declared her nephew, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, her successor, by the title of Grand Prince of all the Russias. The cessation of arms being expired, General Laszi reduced Frederickshelm, and obliged the Swedish army, commanded by Count Löwenhaupt, to retire before him, from one place to another, until at length they were quite surrounded near Helsingfors. In this emergency, the Swedish general submitted to a capitulation by which his infantry were

transported by sea to Sweden; his cavalry marched by land to Abo; and his artillery and magazines remained in the hands of the Russians. The King of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet assembled in order to settle the succession; and the Duke of Holstern-Gottorp, as grandson to the eldest sister to Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown. A courier was immediately dispatched to Moscow, to notify to the Duke this determination of the diet; and this message was followed by a deputation; but when they understood that he had embraced the religion of the Greek church, and been acknowledged successor to the throne of Russia, they annulled his election for Sweden, and resolved that the succession should not be re-established, until a peace should be concluded with the Czarina. Conferences were opened at Abo for this purpose. In the meantime, the events of war had been so long unfortunate for Sweden, that it was absolutely necessary to appease the indignation of the people with some sacrifice. The Generals Lœwenhaupt and Bodenbrock were tried by a court-martial for misconduct: being found guilty and condemned to death, they applied to the diet, by which the sentence was confirmed. The term of the subsidy-treaty between Great-Britain and Denmark expiring, his Danish Majesty refused to renew it; nor would he accede to the peace of Breslaw. On the other hand, he became subsidiary to France, with which also he concluded a new treaty of commerce.

C H A P.
VII.
1742.

§ XXX. The Court of Versailles were now

B O O K heartily tired of maintaining the war in Germany, and had actually made equitable proposals of peace to the Queen of Hungary, by whom they were rejected. Thus repulsed, they redoubled their preparations: and endeavoured, by advantageous offers, to detach the King of Sardinia from the interest of the House of Austria. This prince had espoused a sister to the Grand Duke, who pressed him to declare for her brother, and the Queen of Hungary promised to gratify him with some territories in the Milanese: besides, he thought the Spaniards had already gained too much ground in Italy: but, at the same time, he was afraid of being crushed between France and Spain, before he could be properly supported. He, therefore, temporized, and protracted the negotiation, until he was alarmed at the progress of the Spanish arms in Italy, and fixed in his determination by the subsidies of Great-Britain. The Spanish army assembled at Rimini, under the Duke de Montemar; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to sixty thousand men, furnished with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May, they entered the Bolognese: then the King of Sardinia declaring against them, joined the Austrian army commanded by Count Traun; marched into the duchy of Parma; and understanding that the Duke of Modena had engaged in a treaty with the Spaniards, dispossessed that prince of his dominions. The Duke de Montemar, seeing his army diminished by sickness and desertion, retreated to the kingdom of Naples, and was followed by the King of Sardinia, as far as Rimini.

§ XXXI. Here he received intelligence, that Don Philip, third son of his Catholic Majesty, had made an irruption into Savoy with another army of Spaniards, and already taken possession of Chamberri, the capital. He forthwith began his march for Piedmont. Don Philip abandoned Savoy at his approach, and retreating into Dauphiné, took post under the cannon of fort Barreaux. The King pursued him thither, and both armies remained in sight of each other till the month of December, when the Marquis de Minas, an active and enterprising general, arrived from Madrid, and took upon him the command of the forces under Don Philip. This general's first exploit was against the castle of Aspremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp. He attacked it so vigorously that the garrison was obliged to capitulate in four-and-forty hours. The loss of this important post compelled the King to retire into Piedmont, and the Spaniards marched back into Savoy, where they established their winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Montemar, who directed the other Spanish army, though the Duke of Modena was nominal generalissimo, resigned his command to Count Gages, who attempted to penetrate into Tuscany; but was prevented by the vigilance of Count Traun, the Austrian general. In December he quartered his troops in the Bolognese and Romagna; while the Austrians and Piedmontese were distributed in the Modenese and Parmesan. The Pope was passive during the whole campaign: the Venetians maintained the

CHAP.

VII,

1742

BOOK neutrality and the King of the two Sicilies was
II. over-awed by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

1742.

§. XXXII. The new ministry in England had sent out Admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to resign his commission, on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of minister-plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia and the states of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered Captain. Norris to destroy five Spanish gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached Commodore Rowley, with eight sail, to cruise off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant-ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent Commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian Majesty, would immediately recall his troops, which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation; the King subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron rejoined the admiral in the road of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter-station. Before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to

attack a Spanish ship of the line which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica: but the Spanish captain set his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

CHAP.

VII.

1742.

§ XXXIII. In the course of this year Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth made another effort in the West-Indies. They had in January received a re-enforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the voyage. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthms of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution*. In

* In May two English frigates, commanded by Captain Smith and Captain Stuart, fell in with three Spanish ships of war, near the island of St. Christopher's. They forthwith engaged, and the action continued till night, by the favor of which the enemy retired to Porto-Rico in a shattered condition.

In the month of September the Tilbury ship of war of sixty guns, was accidentally set on fire, and destroyed, off the island of Hispaniola: on which occasion one hundred and twenty-seven men perished: the rest were saved by Capt. Hoare, of the Defiance, who happened to be on the same cruise.

BOOK

II.

1742.

August a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive: these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service. The inferior officers fell ignobly by sickness and despair, without an opportunity of signalizing their courage and the commanders lived to feel the scorn and reproach of their country. In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortress. It consisted of six-and-thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simon's; and began their march for Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took such wise precautions for opposing their progress and harassed them in their march with such activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprise.

§ XXXIV. In England the merchants still complained that their commerce was not properly protected, and the people clamored against the conduct of the war. They said their burdens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expense of inactive fleets and pacific armies. Lord C. had by this time insinuated himself into the confidence of

his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire. By pursuing this object he soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more ample field for his own ambition. He had studied the policy of the continent with peculiar eagerness. This was the favorite subject of his reflection, upon which he thought and spoke with a degree of enthusiasm. The intolerable taxes, the poverty, the ruined commerce of his country; the iniquity of standing armies, votes of credit, and foreign connexions, upon which he had so often expatiated, were now forgotten, or overlooked. He saw nothing but glory, conquest, and acquired dominion. He set the power of France at defiance; and, as if Great-Britain had felt no distress, but teemed with treasure which she could not otherwise employ, he poured forth her millions with a rash and desperate hand, in purchasing beggarly allies, and maintaining mercenary armies. The Earl of Stair had arrived in England towards the end of August, and conferred with his Majesty. A privy-council was summoned; and in a few days that nobleman returned to Holland. Lord Carteret was sent with a commission to the Hague in September; and when he returned, the baggage of the King

BOOK

II.

1742.

and the Duke of Cumberland, which had been shipped for Flanders, was ordered to be brought on shore. The parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his Majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low-Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause at all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia, and that prince's strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia; the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the Czarina, and with the King of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great-Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigor, in defence and assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He said, the honor and interest of his crown and kingdoms, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe would greatly depend on the prudence and vigor of their resolutions. The Marquis of Tweeddale moved for an address of thanks, which was opposed by the Earl of Chesterfield, for the reasons so often urged on the same occasion; but supported by Lord C. on his new-adopted maxims, with those

those specious arguments which he could at all times produce, delivered with amazing serenity and assurance. The motion was agreed to, and the address presented to his Majesty. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his Majesty and the King of Prussia was signed at Westminster. In the House of Commons Mr. Lyttelton made a motion for reviving the place-bill; but it was opposed by a great number of members who had formerly been strenuous advocates for this measure, and rejected upon a division. This was also the fate of a motion made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford. As many strong presumptions of guilt had appeared against him in the reports of the secret committee, the nation had reason to expect that this proposal would have been embraced by a great majority; but several members, who in the preceding session had been loud in their demands of justice, now shamefully contributed their talents and interest in stifling the inquiry.

§ XXXV. When the House of Lords took into consideration the several estimates of the expense occasioned by the forces in the pay of Great-Britain, Earl Stanhope, at the close of an elegant speech, moved for an address, to beseech and advise his Majesty, that, in compassion to his people, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expenses than the nation at any time before had ever sustained, he would exonerate his subjects of

- B O O K** the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year, without the advice or consent of parliament. The motion was supported by the Earl of Sandwich, who took occasion to speak with great contempt of Hanover, and in mentioning the royal family, seemed to forget that decorum which the subject required. He had, indeed, reason to talk with asperity on the contract by which the Hanoverians had been taken into the pay of Great-Britain. Levy-money was charged to the account, though they were engaged for one year only; and though not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and would have been maintained if England had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The Duke of Bedford enlarged upon the same subject. He said it had been suspected, nor was the suspicion without foundation, that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interests of his Majesty's electoral territories: that these had been long considered as a gulf into which the treasures of Great-Britain had been thrown: that the state of Hanover had been changed without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England: affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value was never paid from the revenues of Hanover. The motion was hunted down by
- II.**
1742.

the new minister, the patriot Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, which last nobleman declared, that he considered it as an act of cowardice and meanness, to fall passively down the stream of popularity, to suffer his reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamors, which had been raised against the measures of government by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasoning, and partial representations. This is the very language which Sir Robert Walpole had often used against Mr. Pulteney and his confederates in the House of Commons. The associates of the new secretary pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land-war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered; their conduct was severely stigmatized by the Earl of Chesterfield, who observed, that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the Queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure: the taking sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times: that these troops could not be employed against the Emperor, whom they had already recognised: that the arms and wealth of Britain alone were altogether insufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and

BOOK

II.

1742.

influence: that the assembling an army in Flanders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner: that while Great-Britain exhausted herself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the Queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute any thing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great-Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price: that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home; and the nation groaned under such intolerable burdens. "It may be proper" (added he) to repeat what may be forgotten in "the multitude of other objects, that this nation, "after having exalted the Elector of Hanover "from a state of obscurity to the crown, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to "fight their own cause; to hire them at a rate "which was never demanded before; and to pay "levy-money for them, though it is known to "all Europe that they were not raised for this "occasion." All the partisans of the old ministry joined in the opposition to Earl Stanhope's motion which was rejected by the majority. Then the Earl of Scarborough moved for an address, to approve of the measures which had been taken on the continent; and this was likewise carried by

dint of number. It was not, however, a very eligible victory: what they gained in parliament they lost with the people. The new ministers became more odious than their predecessors; and people began to think that public virtue was an empty name.

§ XXXVI. But the most severe opposition they underwent was in their endeavours to support a bill which they had concerted, and which had passed through the House of Commons with great precipitation: it repealed certain duties on spirituous liquors; and licences for retailing these liquors; and imposed others at an easier rate. When those severe duties, amounting almost to a prohibition, were imposed, the populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy, by drinking to excess the pernicious spirit called Gin, which was sold so cheap, that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their

BOOK

II.

1742.

health, and ruining their families in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy. Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all police and civil regulations, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil; which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take, as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They, therefore, pretended, that should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and licences granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess: their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war, by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licences. Upon these maxims the new bill was founded, and passed through the

Lower House without opposition : but among the Peers it produced the most obstinate dispute which had happened since the beginning of this parliament. The first assault it sustained was from Lord Hervey, who had been divested of his post of privy-seal, which was bestowed on Lord Gower and these two noblemen exchanged principles from that instant. The first was hardened into a sturdy patriot; the other suppled into an obsequious courtier. Lord Hervey, on this occasion, made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that destructive spirit they were about to let loose upon their fellow-creatures. Several prelates expatiated on the same topics: but the Earl of Chesterfield attacked the bill with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule. Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath were numbered among its advocates; and shrewd arguments were advanced on both sides of the question. After very long, warm, and repeated debates, the bill passed without amendments, though the whole bench of bishops voted against it; and we cannot help owning, that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold. When the question was put for committing this bill, and the Earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division, " I am " in doubt (said he) whether I have not " got on the other side of the question; for I " have not had the honor to divide with so many " lawn sleeves for several years."

§ XXXVII. By the report of the secret com-

B O O K

11.

mittee it appeared that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the elections of members of parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the House of Lords; and this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for securing the independency of corporations: but as it tended to diminish the influence of the ministry, they argued against it with their usual eagerness and success; and it was rejected on a division. The mutiny-bill and several others passed through both Houses. The Commons granted supplies to the amount of six millions, raised by the land-tax, the malt-tax, duties on spirituous liquors, and licences; and a loan from the sinking fund. In two years the national debt had suffered an increase of two millions four hundred thousand pounds. On the twenty-first day of April the session was closed in the usual manner. The King in his speech to both Houses, told them, that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrians, to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance: that he continued one squadron of ships in the Mediterranean, and another in the West-Indies. He thanked the Commons for the ample supplies they had granted; and declared it was the fixed purpose of his heart to promote the true interest and happiness of his kingdoms. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament he embarked for

An. 1743.

Germany , accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Carteret, and other persons of distinction. CHAP. VII.
1742.

§ XXXVIII. At this period the Queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper-Palatinate; and their forces under Marechal Broglio were posted on the Danube. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian army, entered Bavaria; and in April obtained a victory over a body of Bavarians at Braunau: at the same time, three bodies of Croats penetrating through the passes of the Tyrolese, ravaged the whole country to the very gates of Munich. The Emperor pressed the French general to hazard a battle; but he refused to run this risque, though he had received a strong re-enforcement from France. His Imperial Majesty, thinking himself unsafe in Munich, retired to Augsburgh: Marechal Seckendorf retreated with the Bavarian troops to Ingoldstadt, where he was afterwards joined by Marechal Broglio, whose troops had in this retreat been pursued and terribly harassed by the Austrian cavalry and hussars. Prince Charles had opened a free communication with Munich, which now for the third time fell into the hands of the Queen of Hungary. Her arms likewise reduced Friedberg and Landsperg, while Charles continued to pursue the French to Donawert, where they were joined by twelve thousand men from the Rhine. Broglio still avoided an engagement, and retreated before the enemy to Heilbron.

B O O K The Emperor being thus abandoned by his allies,
II. and stripped of all his dominions, repaired to
1744- Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He now made advances towards an accommodation with the Queen of Hungary. His general, Seckendorf, had an interview with Count Khevenhuller at the convent of Lowerconfield, where a convention was signed. This treaty imported, That the Emperor should remain neuter during the continuance of the present war; and, That his troops should be quartered in Franconia: That the Queen of Hungary should keep possession of Bavaria till the peace: That Braunau and Scarding should be delivered up to the Austrians: That the French garrison of Ingoldstadt should be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Austrian generals should be put in possession of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike stores belonging to the French, which should be found in the place. The governors of Egra and Ingoldstadt refusing to acquiesce in the capitulation, the Austrians had recourse to the operations of war; and both places were reduced. In Ingoldstadt they found all the Emperor's domestic treasure, jewels, plate, pictures, cabinets, and curiosities, with the archives of the House of Bavaria, the most valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vast quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition.

§ XXXIX. The French King baffled in all the efforts he had hitherto made for the support of

the Emperor, ordered his minister at Franckfort to deliver a declaration to the diet, professing himself extremely well pleased to hear they intended to interpose their mediation for terminating the war. He said, he was no less satisfied with the treaty of neutrality which the Emperor had concluded with the Queen of Hungary; an event of which he was no sooner informed, than he had ordered his troops to return to the frontiers of his dominions, that the Germanic body might be convinced of his equity and moderation. To this declaration the Queen of Hungary answered in a rescript, that the design of France was to embarrass her affairs, and deprive her of the assistance of her allies: that the Elector of Bavaria could not be considered as a neutral party in his own cause: that the mediation of the empire could only produce a peace either with or without the concurrence of France: that in the former case no solid peace could be expected; in the latter, it was easy to foresee, that France would pay no regard to a peace in which she should have no concern. She affirmed, that the aim of the French King was solely to gain time to repair his losses, that he might afterwards revive the troubles of the empire. The Elector of Mentz, who had favored the Emperor, was now dead, and his successor inclined to the Austrian interest. He allowed this rescript to be entered in the journal of the diet, together with the protests which had been made when the vote of Bohemia was suppressed in the late election. The Emperor complained in a circular letter of this transaction, as a stroke levelled

BOOK at his Imperial dignity; and it gave rise to a warm
II. dispute among the members of the Germanic body.
1743. Several princes resented the haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success of the house of Austria; while others pitied the deplorable situation of the Emperor. The Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, as Electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian Majesty protested against the investiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburgh, claimed by the King of Great-Britain: he had an interview with General Seckendorf at Anspach; and was said to have privately visited the Emperor at Franckfort.

§ XL. The troops which the King of Great-Britain had assembled in the Netherlands began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the Earl of Stair. This nobleman sent Major-General Bland to Franckfort with a compliment to the Emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed. Notwithstanding this assurance, the Emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return, by the success of the Austrians in Bavaria. The French King, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with Prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the Marechal de Noailles to assemble sixty thousand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was sent

into Alface with a numerous army, to defend that province, and oppose Prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. The Marechal de Noailles, having secured the towns of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Franckfort. The Earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of Darmstadt: from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffsburgh, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayne: but he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means, by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the confederates. The Duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his Majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, in danger of starving: he received intelligence, that a re-enforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither, both with a view to effect the junction, and to procure provision for his forces. With this view he decamped on the twenty-sixth day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffsburgh than it was seized by the French general: he had not marched above three leagues, when he

BOOK

II.

1743.

perceived the enemy, to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river farther down, at Selin- genstadt, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat: his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march: in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the centre. Thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the Duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder: but the infantry of the allies behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation; under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost about five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken.

Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The Earl of Stair proposed that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The Generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the Duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The King exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honor of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the re-enforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Mareschal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and these the French general treated with great care and tenderness. Such generosity softens the rigors of war, and does honor to humanity.

§ XLI. The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French general receiving intelligence that Prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The King of Great-Britain was visited by Prince Charles and Count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future

BOOK operations of the campaign were regulated. On
II. the twenty-seventh day of August, the allied army
1743. passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the King fixed his head-quarters in the episcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when, they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Marschal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the intrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich: then they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honor of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted. In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic Majesty, the King of Sardinia, and the Queen of Hungary. She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy: the King of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great-Britain. As a further gratification, the Queen yielded to him the city of Placentia, with several districts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novarese; and all her right and pretensions to Final, at present possessed by the republic of Genoa, which, they hoped, would give it up, on being repaid the

purchase-

purchase - money , amounting to three hundred thousand pounds. This sum the King of England promised to disburse; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean , the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian Majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final should be constituted a free-port, like that of Leghorn. Nothing could be more unjust than this treaty, by which the Genoese were negotiated out of their property. They had purchased the marquise of Final of the late Emperor for a valuable consideration, and the purchase had been guaranteed by Great-Britain. It could not, therefore, be expected that they would part with this acquisition to a prince whose power they thought already too formidable; especially, on condition of its being made a free-port, to the prejudice of their own commerce. They presented remonstrances against this article, by their ministers at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as very little regard was paid to their representations, they threw themselves into the arms of France and Spain for protection.

§ XLII. After the battle of Dettingen, Colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the Queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September Prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine; but Marechal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon

VOL. IV.

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BOOK his design, and marching back into the Upper
11. Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country,
1743- and in Bavaria. By this time the Earl of Stair had
 solicited and obtained leave to resign his command.
 He had for some time thought himself neglected;
 and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer
 on account of measures in which he had no concern.
 In October the King of Great-Britain returned to
 Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in
 British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and
 the rest took the route to their respective countries.
 The States-General still wavered between their own
 immediate interest and their desire to support the
 house of Austria. At length, however, they sup-
 plied her with a subsidy, and ordered twenty thou-
 sand men to march to her assistance, notwith-
 standing the intrigues of the Marquis de Fenelon,
 the French ambassador at the Hague, and the de-
 claration of the King of Prussia, who disapproved
 of this measure, and refused them a passage through
 his territories to the Rhine.

§ XLIII. Sweden was filled with discontents,
 and divided into factions. The Generals Boden-
 brock and Læwenhaupt were beheaded, having
 been sacrificed as scape-goats for the ministry.
 Some unsuccessful efforts by sea and land were
 made against the Russians. At last the peace of
 Åbo was concluded; and the Duke of Holstein-
 Utin, uncle to the successor of the Russian
 throne, was chosen as next heir to the crown
 of Sweden. A party had been formed in favor
 of the Prince of Denmark; and the order of the

peasants actually elected him as successor. The debates in the college of nobles rose to a very dangerous degree of animosity, and were appeased by an harangue in Swedish verse, which one of the senators pronounced. The peasants yielded the point, and the succession was settled on the Duke of Holstein. Denmark, instigated by French councils, began to make preparations of war against Sweden: but, a body of Russian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of General Keith, and the Czarina declaring she would assist the Swedes with her whole force, the King of Denmark thought proper to disarm. It had been an old maxim of French policy to embroil the courts of the North, that they might be too much employed at home to intermeddle in the affairs of Germany, while France was at war with the house of Austria. The good understanding between the Czarina and the Queen of Hungary was at this period destroyed, in consequence of a conspiracy which had been formed by some persons of distinction at the court of Petersburgh, for removing the Empress Elisabeth, and recalling the Princess Anne to the administration. This design being discovered, the principal conspirators were corporally punished, and sent in exile to Siberia. The Marquis de Botta, the Austrian minister, who had resided at the court of the Czarina, was suspected of having been concerned in the plot; though the grounds of this suspicion did not appear until after he was recalled and sent as ambassador to the court of

BOOK 11. Berlin. The Empress demanded satisfaction of
 1743. the Queen of Hungary, who appointed commissioners to inquire into his conduct, and he was acquitted: but the Czarina was not at all satisfied of his innocence. In February a defensive treaty of alliance was concluded between this princess and the King of Great-Britain.

§ XLIV. By this time France was deprived of her ablest minister, in the death of the Cardinal de Fleury, who had for many years managed the affairs of that kingdom. He is said to have possessed a lively genius, and an insinuating address; to have been regular in his deportment, and moderate in his disposition; but at the same time he has been branded as deceitful, dissembling, and vindictive. His scheme of politics was altogether pacific: he endeavoured to accomplish his purposes by raising and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts: he did not seem to pay much regard to the military glory of France; and he too much neglected the naval power of that kingdom. Since Broglie was driven out of Germany, the French court affected uncommon moderation. They pretended that their troops had only acted as auxiliaries while they remained in the empire: being; however, apprehensive of an irruption into their own dominions, they declared, that those troops were no longer to be considered in that light, but as subjects acting in the service of France. The campaign in Italy proved unfavorable to the Spaniards. In the beginning of February Count Gages, who commanded the Spanish army in the Bolognese, amounting to

four-and-twenty thousand men, passed the Panaro, and advanced to Campo-Santo, where he encountered the Imperial and Piedmontese forces, commanded by the Counts Traun and Aspremont. The strength of the two armies was nearly equal. The action was obstinate and bloody, though indecisive. The Spaniards lost about four thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken. The damage sustained by the confederates was not quite so great. Some cannon and colors were taken on both sides, and each claimed the victory. Count Gages repassed the Panaro; retreated suddenly from Bologna; and marched to Rimini in the ecclesiastical state; where he fortified his camp in an advantageous situation, after having suffered severely by desertion. Count Traun remained inactive in the Modenese till September, when he resigned his command to Prince Lobkowitz. This general entered the Bolognese in October, and then advanced towards Count Gages, who, with his forces, now reduced to seven thousand, retreated to Fano; but afterwards took possession of Pesaro, and fortified all the passes of the river Foglia. The season was far advanced before the Spanish troops, commanded by Don Philip, in Savoy, entered upon action. In all probability, the courts of Versailles and Madrid carried on some private negotiation with the King of Sardinia. This expedient failing, Don Philip decamped from Chamberri in the latter end of August, and desiling through Dauphiné towards Briançon, was joined by the Prince of Conti, at the head

BOOK of twenty thousand French auxiliaries. Thus re-
 11. enforced, he attacked the Piedmontese lines at
 1743. Chateau-Dauphiné; but was repulsed in several attempts, and obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The French established their winter-quarters in Dauphiné and Provence; and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

XLV. The British fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews over-awed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean. This officer, about the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecs, laden with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute, it was agreed that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica; and that the xebecs should have leave to retire without molestation. The Corsicans had some years before revolted, and shaken off the dominion of the Genoese, under which their island had remained for many centuries. They found themselves oppressed, and resolved to assert their freedom. They conferred the sovereign authority on a German adventurer, who was solemnly proclaimed, by the name of King Theodore. He had supplied them with some arms and ammunition, which he had brought from Tunis; and amused them with promises of being assisted by foreign powers

in retrieving thir independency : but as these promisses were not performed, they treated him so roughly, that he thought proper to quit the island, and they submitted again to their old masters. The troubles of Corsica were now revived. Theodore revisited his kingdom, and was recognised by the principal chiefs of the island. He published a manifesto: he granted a general pardon to all his subjects who should return to their obedience: he pretended to be countenanced and supported by the King of Great-Britain and the Queen of Hungary. He was certainly thought a proper instrument to perplex and harass the Genoese, and supplied at this juncture with a sum of money to purchase arms for the Corsicans: but a change soon happened in the British ministry, and then he was suffered to relapse into his original obscurity. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca. Some stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia, for the use of the Spanish forces under Count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the Pope had professed; and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the Pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian

BOOK Majesty, in consequence of which the English
11. squadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of
1743. single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side; and kept the whole coast in continual alarm¹.

§ XLVI. In the West-Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by Commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueria on the coast of Carraccas in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired

¹ In May a dreadful plague broke out at Messina in Sicily. It was imported in cotton and other commodities brought from Morea; and swept off such a multitude of people, that the city was almost depopulated: all the galley-slaves, who were employed in burying the dead, perished by the contagion; and this was the fate of many priests and monks who administered to those who were infected. The dead bodies lay in heaps in the streets, corrupting the air, and adding fresh fuel to the rage of the pestilence. Numbers died miserably, for want of proper attendance and necessaries; and all was horror and desolation. At the beginning of winter it ceased, after having destroyed near fifty thousand inhabitants of Messina, and of the garrisons in the citadel and castle. It was prevented from spreading in Sicily by a strong barricado drawn from Melazzo to Taormina: but it was conveyed to Reggio in Calabria, by the avarice of a broker of that place, who bought some goods at Messina. The King of Naples immediately ordered lines to be formed, together with a chain of troops which cut off all communication between that place and the rest of the continent.

the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavillo in April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were seized with such a panic, that it was found necessary to re-embark them without delay. Then the Commodore abandoned the enterprise, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward-Islands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or resolution. On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians, as a re-enforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and rangers, and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement; and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia. In October the Princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic Majesty, was married by proxy, at Hanover, to the Prince Royal of Denmark, who met her at Altena, and conducted her to Copenhagen.

C H A P. VIII.

§ I. *Debate in parliament against the Hanoverian troops.* II. *Supplies granted.* III. *Projected invasion of Great-Britain.* IV. *A French Squadron sails up the English channel.* V. *The kingdom is put in a posture of defence.* VI. *The design of the French defeated. War between France and England.* VII. *Bill against those who should correspond with the sons of the Pretender.* VIII. *Naval engagement off Toulon.* IX. *Advances towards peace made by the Emperor.* X. *Treaty of Franckfort.* XI. *Progress of the French King in the Netherlands.* XII. *Prince Charles of Lorraine passes the Rhine.* XIII. *The King of Prussia makes an irruption into Bohemia.* XIV. *Campaign in Bavaria and Flanders.* XV. *The King of Naples joins Count Gages in Italy.* XVI. *Battle of Coni.* XVII. *Return of Commodore Anson. Sir John Balchen perishes at sea.* XVIII. *Revolution in the British ministry. Session of parliament.* XIX. *Death of the Emperor Charles VII.* XX. *Accommodation between the Queen of Hungary and the young Elector of Bavaria.* XXI. *The King of Prussia gains two successive battles at Friedberg and Sohr, over the Austrian and Saxon forces.* XXII. *Treaty of Dresden. The Grand Duke of Tuscany elected Emperor of Germany.* XXIII. *The allies are defeated at Fontenoy.* XXIV. *The King of Sardinia is almost stripped of his dominions.* XXV. *The English forces take*

Cape-Breton. XXV. The importance of this conquest. XXVI Project of an insurrection in Great-Britain. XXVII. The eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George lands in Scotland. XXVIII. Takes possession of Edinburgh. XXIX. Defeats Sir John Cope at Preston-pans. XXX. Efforts of the friends of government in Scotland. XXXI. Precautions taken in England. XXXII. The Prince Pretender reduces Carlisle, and penetrates as far as Derby. Consternation of the Londoners. XXXIII. The rebels retreat into Scotland. XXXIV. They invest the castle of Stirling. XXXV. The King's troops under Hawly are worsted at Falkirk. XXXVI. The Duke of Cumberland assumes the command of the forces in Scotland. XXXVII. The rebels undertake the siege of Fort-William.

§ I. **T**HE discontents of England were artfully inflamed by antiministerial writers, who not only exaggerated the burdens of the people, and drew frightful pictures of the distress and misery which, they said, impended over the nation, but also employed the arts of calumny and misrepresentation, to excite a jealousy and national quarrel between the English and Hanoverians. They affirmed, that in the last campaign the British general had been neglected and despised; while the councils of foreign officers, greatly inferior to him in capacity, quality, and reputation, had been followed, to the prejudice of the common cause: that the British troops sustained daily insults from

CHAP.
VIII.
1743.

BOOK their own mercenaries, who were indulged with
 11. particular marks of royal favor: that the sovereign
 1743. himself appeared at Dettingen in a Hanoverian
 scarf; and that his electoral troops were of very
 little service in that engagement. Though the
 most material of these assertions were certainly
 false, they made a strong impression on the minds
 of the people, already irritated by the enormous
 expense of a continental war maintained for the
 interest of Germany. When the parliament met
 in the beginning of December, a motion was
 made in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Sand-
 wich, for an address, beseeching his Majesty to
 discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay,
 in order to remove the popular discontent, and
 stop the murmurs of the English troops abroad.
 He was supported by the Duke of Bedford, the
 Earl of Chesterfield, and all the leaders in the op-
 position, who did not fail to enumerate, and in-
 sist upon all the circumstances we have mentioned.
 They moreover observed, that better troops
 might be hired at a smaller expense: that it would
 be a vain and endless task to exhaust the national
 treasure, in enriching a hungry and barren elec-
 torate: that the popular dissatisfaction against these
 mercenaries was so general, and raised to such
 violence, as nothing but their dismissal could
 appease: that if such hirelings should be thus con-
 tinued from year to year, they might at last be-
 come a burden entailed upon the nation, and be
 made subservient, under some ambitious prince,
 to purposes destructive of British liberty. These

were the suggestions of spleen and animosity; for, granting the necessity of a land-war, the Hanoverians were the most natural allies and auxiliaries which Great-Britain could engage and employ. How insolent soever some few individual generals of that electorate might have been in their private deportment, certain it is, their troops behaved with great sobriety, discipline, and decorum; and in the day of battle did their duty with as much courage and alacrity as any body of men ever displayed on the like occasion. The motion was rejected by the majority; but, when the term for keeping them in the British pay was nearly expired, and estimates for their being continued the ensuing year were laid before the House, the Earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The Lord Chancellor, as speaker of the House, interposing, declared, that by their rules a question once rejected could not be revived during the same session. A debate ensued, and the second motion was over-ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the House of Commons: nevertheless, the same nobleman moved in the Upper House, that the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay was prejudicial to his Majesty's true interest, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. He was seconded by the Duke of Marlborough, who had resigned his commission in disgust; and the proposal gave birth to another warm dispute: but victory declared, as usual, for the ministry.

C H A P.

VIII.

1743-

BOOK § II. In the House of Commons they sustained
 II. divers attacks. A motion was made for laying a
 1743. duty of eight shillings in the pound on all places
 and pensions. Mr. Grenville moved for an address,
 to beseech his Majesty, that he would not engage
 the British nation any further in the war on the
 continent, without the concurrence of the States-
 General on certain stipulated proportions of force
 and expense, as in the late war. These proposals
 begat vigorous debates, in which the country-party
 were always foiled by dint of superior number.
 Such was the credit and influence of the ministry
 in parliament, that although the national debt
 was increased by above six millions since the com-
 mencement of the war, the Commons indulged
 them with an enormous sum for the expense of
 the ensuing year. The grants specified in the votes
 amounted to six millions and a half: to this sum
 were added three millions and a half paid to the
 sinking-fund in perpetual taxes; so that this year's
 expense rose to ten millions. The funds establish-
 ed for the annual charge were the land and malt-
 taxes; one million paid by the East-India company
 for the renewal of their charter, twelve hundred
 thousand pounds by annuities, one million from
 the sinking-fund, six-and-thirty thousand pounds
 from the coinage, and six hundred thousand pounds
 by a lottery: an expedient which for some time
 had been annually repeated: and which, in a great
 measure contributed to debauch the morals of the
 public, by introducing a spirit of gaming, destructive
 of all industry and virtue.

§ III. The dissensions of the British parliament were suddenly suspended by an event that seemed to unite both parties in the prosecution of the same measures. This was the intelligence of an intended invasion. By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamors, and the general dissatisfaction of the people in Great-Britain, the French ministry were persuaded that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland. These were papists and Jacobites of strong prejudices and warm imaginations, who saw things through the medium of passion and party, and spoke rather from extravagant zeal than from sober conviction. They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the Chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son, Charles-Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favor. This intimation was agreeable to Cardinal de Tencin, who, since the death of Fleury, had borne a share in the administration of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St. George, and was seemingly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with the prospect of giving a king to Great-Britain; of performing such eminent service to his benefactor; and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. The ministry of France foresaw, that even

BOOK of this aim should miscarry, a descent upon
11. Great-Britain would make a considerable di-
1743. version from the continent in favor of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic Majesty, who was the chief support of the House of Austria, and all its allies. Actuated by these motives; he concerted measures with the Chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising, amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Such was the adventurer now destined to fill the hope which the French ministry had conceived from the projected invasion of Great-Britain.

§ IV. Count Saxe was appointed by the French King commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand men. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Roqueseuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The Chevalier de St. George
 is

is said to have required the personal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by Cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French King: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British ministry being apprized of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne. Mr. Thompson, the English resident at Paris received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the Pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his Most Christian Majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the King of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel, with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board

BOOK of Admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith
II. ordered to take the command of the squadron at
1742. Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

§ V. Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouths of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the King sent a message to both Houses of parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel. They joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favor of a popish pretender; and assuring his Majesty, that they would, with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both universities, the principal towns of Great-Britain, the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries which the States-General were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity

and expedition. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to government, and was re-invested with the chief command of the forces in Great-Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The Duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse; and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His Majesty was, in another address from parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by sea and land: the Habeas-Corpus-act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices: a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every pre caution was taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

§ VI. Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young Pretender; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French Admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet, under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs;

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BOOK and though the wind was against him, taking
 11. the opportunity of the tide to come up and en-
 1742. gage the French Squadron. Roquefeuille, who
 little expected such a visit, could not be altogether
 composed, considering the great superiority
 of his enemies: but the tide failing, the English
 Admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short
 of the enemy. In this interval, M. de Roquefeuille
 called a council of war in which it was determined to
 avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sunset, and
 make the best of their way to the place from whence
 they had set sail. This resolution was favored
 by a very hard gale of wind, which began to
 blow from the north-east, and carried them down
 the channel with incredible expedition. But the
 same storm which, in all probability, saved their
 fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the
 design of invading England. A great number of
 their transports were driven ashore and destroyed,
 and the rest were so damaged that they could not
 be speedily repaired. The English were now
 masters at sea, and their coast was so well guard-
 ed, that the enterprise could not be prosecuted
 with any probability of success. The French ge-
 nerals nominated to serve in this expedition return-
 ed to Paris, and the young Pretender resolved to
 wait a more favorable opportunity. In the mean
 time he remained in Paris, or that neighbourhood,
 incognito, and almost totally neglected by the
 court of France. Finding himself in this disagree-
 able situation, and being visited by John Murray
 of Broughton, who magnified the power of his

friends in Great-Britain, he resolved to make some bold effort, even without the assistance of Louis, in whose sincerity he had no faith, and forthwith took proper measures to obtain exact information touching the number, inclinations, and influence of his father's adherents in England and Scotland. The French King no longer preserved any measures with the court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. The King of Great-Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and with having blocked up the harbour of Toulon. On the thirty-first day of March a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

§ VII. The Commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill, denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the Pretender. In the upper House, Lord Hardwicke, the Chancellor, moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the Pretender's sons. The motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate, in which the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Chesterfield, the Lords Talbot

An. 244.

BOOK 11. 1744. and Hervey argued against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated. Notwithstanding these suggestions, the clause was carried in the affirmative, and the bill sent back to the Commons, where the amendment was vigorously opposed by Lord Strange, Lord Guernsey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members, by whom the original bill had been countenanced¹: the majority, however, declared for the amendment, and the bill obtained the royal assent. The session of parliament was closed in May, when the King told them that the French had made vast preparations on the side of the Netherlands; and that the States-General had agreed to furnish the succours stipulated by treaties.

§ VIII. By this time an action had happened in the Mediterranean between the British fleet commanded by Admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived

¹ The opposition had sustained a heavy blow in the death of the Duke of Argyle, a nobleman of shining qualifications for the senate and the field, whose character would have been still more illustrious, had not some parts of his conduct subjected him to the suspicion of selfishness and inconstancy. He was succeeded in that title by his brother, Archibald Earl of Hay.

standing out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty sail: the English Admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay; and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish Admiral, Don Navarro, whose ship, the Real, was a first rate, mounted with above an hundred guns. Rear-Admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron; and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but Vice-Admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern; and several captains who were immediately under the eye of Matthews behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number. M. de Court, therefore, made the best of his way towards the Straits mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron: but he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet; and as they failed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced he made sail and lay to by turns; so that the British Admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they outailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether, should he wait for Vice-Admiral Lestock who was so far astern. Under this apprehension he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency

BOOK naturally introduced confusion. The fight was
 11. maintained with great vivacity by the few who
 1744. engaged. The *Real* being quite disabled, and like
 a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a
 fireship to destroy her; but the expedient did not
 take effect. The ships ordered to cover this ma-
 chine did not obey the signal; so that the captain
 of the fireship was exposed to the whole fire of
 the enemy. Nevertheless, he continued to ad-
 vance until he found the vessel sinking, and being
 within a few yards of the *Real*, he set fire to
 the fuses. The ship was immediately in flames,
 in the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with
 twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate
 of a Spanish launch, which had been manned with
 fifty sailors, to prevent the fireship from running on
 board the *Real*. One ship of the line belonging
 to the Spanish squadron struck to Captain Hawke,
 who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her:
 she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron;
 but was found so disabled, that they left her de-
 serted, and she was next day burned by order of Ad-
 miral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and
 the Admiral found his own ship so much damaged,
 that he moved his flag into another. Captain
 Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having
 exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and in-
 trepidity: but the loss of men was very inconsider-
 able. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward
 and the admiral gave chase till night, when he
 brought to, that he might be joined by the
 ships astern. They were perceived again on

the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably by noon; but Admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port-Mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Mean while the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant; and Don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthagen. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, cunning, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion, he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and, in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed; but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and

BOOK

II.

1244

saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled, and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon these instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The Commons, in an address to the throne, desired that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time Lestock had accused Matthews, and all the captains of his division who misbehaved on the day of battle. The court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: Vice-Admiral Lestock was honorably acquitted; and Admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his Majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement. Yet the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped the sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

§ IX. The war in Germany, which had been almost extinguished in the last campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. The

Emperor had solicited the mediation of his Britannic Majesty for compromising the differences between him and the court of Vienna. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel had conferred with the King of England on this subject; and a negotiation was begun at Hanau. The Emperor offered to dismiss the French auxiliaries, provided the Austrians would evacuate his hereditary dominions. Nay, Prince William and Lord Carteret, as plenipotentiaries, actually agreed to preliminaries, by which his Imperial Majesty engaged to renounce the alliance of France, and throw himself into the arms of the maritime powers; to resign all pretensions to the succession of the house of Austria; and to revive the vote of Bohemia in the electoral college, on condition of his being re-established in the possession of his dominions; recognised as Emperor by the Queen of Hungary, and accommodated with a monthly subsidy for his maintenance, as his own territories were exhausted and impoverished by the war. By a separate article, the King of Great-Britain promised to furnish him with three hundred thousand crowns, and to interpose his good offices with the Queen of Hungary, that his electoral dominions should be favorably treated. These preliminaries, though settled, were not signed. The court of Vienna was unwilling to part with their conquests in Bavaria and the Upper-Palatinate. The Queen trusted too much to the valor of her troops, and the wealth of her allies, to listen to such terms of accommodation; and whatever arguments were used with the King

BOOK of Great Britain, certain it is the negotiation was
 11. dropped, on pretence that the articles were dis-
 3744. approved by the ministry of England. The Em-
 peror, environed with distrefs, renewed his appli-
 cation to the King of Great-Britain; and even de-
 clared that he would refer his cause to the deter-
 mination of the maritime powers: but all his ad-
 vances were discountenanced; and the treaty of
 Worms dispelled all hope of accommodation. In
 this manner did the British ministry reject the fair-
 est opportunity that could possibly occur of ter-
 minating the war in Germany with honor and
 advantage, and of freeing their country from that
 insufferable burden of expence under which she
 groaned.

§ X. The inflexibility of the house of Austria, and
 its chief ally, proved serviceable to the Emperor.
 The forlorn situation of this unfortunate prince ex-
 cited the compassion of divers princes: they re-
 sented the insolence with which the head of the
 empire had been treated by the court of Vienna;
 and they were alarmed at the increasing power of
 a family noted for pride, tyranny, and ambition.
 These considerations gave rise to the treaty of
 Franckfort, concluded in May between the Em-
 peror, the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden as
 Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the Elector-Pala-
 tine. They engaged to preserve the constitutions
 of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia,
 and to support the Emperor in his rank and dignity.
 They agreed to employ their good offices with the
 Queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to

acknowledge the Emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guaranteed to each other their respective territories: the disputes about the succession of the late Emperor they referred to the decision of the states of the empire: they promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the King of Poland, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. Such was the confederacy that broke all the measures which had been concerted between the King of Great-Britain and her Hungarian Majesty for the operations of the campaign. In the mean time, the French King declared war against this princess, on pretence that she was obstinately deaf to all terms of accommodation, and determined to carry the war into the territories of France. In her counter-declaration she taxed Louis with having infringed the most solemn engagement with respect to the pragmatic sanction; with having spirited up different pretenders to lay claim to the succession of the late Emperor; with having endeavoured to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having acted the incendiary in the north of Europe, that the Czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while his numerous armies overspread the empire, and desolated her hereditary countries. These recriminations were literally true. The houses of Bourbon and Austria have, for many centuries, been the common disturbers and plagues of Europe.

§ XI. The King of France, though in himself pacific and unenterprising, was stimulated by

B O O K his ministry to taste the glory of conquest in the
 11. Netherlands, where he had assembled an army of
 1741. one hundred and twenty thousand men, provided
 with a very formidable train of artillery. The chief
 command was vested in the Marechal Count de
 Saxe, who possessed great military talents, and
 proved to be one of the most fortunate generals
 of the age in which he lived. The allied forces,
 consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and
 Austrians, to the number of seventy thousand ef-
 fective men, were in the month of May assembled
 in the neighbourhood of Brussels, from whence
 they marched towards Oudenarde, and posted them-
 selves behind the Schelde, being unable to retard
 the progress of the enemy. The French Monarch,
 attended by his favorite ladies, with all the pomp
 of eastern luxury, arrived at Lisle on the twelfth
 day of the same month; and in the adjacent plain
 reviewed his army. The States-General, alarmed
 at his preparations, had, in a conference with his
 ambassador at the Hague, expressed their appre-
 hensions, and entreated his Most Christian Majesty
 would desist from his design of attacking their bar-
 rier. Their remonstrances having proved ineffectual,
 they now sent a minister to wait upon that mon-
 arch, to enforce their former representations, and
 repeat their entreaties: but no regard was paid to
 his request. The French King told him, he was
 determined to prosecute the war with vigor, as his
 moderation hitherto had served to no other pur-
 pose but that of rendering his enemies more in-
 tractable. Accordingly, his troops invested Menin,

which was in seven days surrendered upon capitulation. Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes underwent the same fate; and on the twenty-ninth day of June the King of France entered Dunkirk in triumph.

CHAR.
VIII.
1744.

§ XII. He had taken such precautions for the defence of Alsace, which was guarded by considerable armies under the command of Coigny and Seckendorf, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Austrians in that quarter: besides, he had received secret assurances that the King of Prussia would declare for the Emperor; so that he resolved to pursue his conquests in the Netherlands. But all his measures were defeated by the activity of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and his officers, who found means to pass the Rhine, and oblige the French and Bavarian generals to retire to Lampertheim, that they might cover Straßburgh. The Austrians made themselves masters of Hagenau and Saverne: they secured the passes of Lorraine; and laid all the country of Lower Alsace under contribution. The King of France was no sooner apprized of the prince's having passed the Rhine, and penetrated into this province, than he sent off a detachment of thirty thousand men from his army in Flanders to re-enforce that under the Marechal de Coigny; and he himself began his journey from the Rhine, that he might in person check the progress of the enemy: but this design was anticipated by a severe distemper that overtook him at Metz in Lorraine. The physicians despaired of his life. The Queen, with her children, and

B O O K all the princes of the blood, hastened from Versailles to pay the last duties to their dying sovereign, who, as a true penitent, dismissed his concubines, and began to prepare himself for death: yet the strength of his constitution triumphed over the fever, and his recovery was celebrated all over his dominions with uncommon marks of joy and affection.

II.
1744. § XIII. In the mean time the schemes of the Austrian general were frustrated by the King of Prussia, who, in the month of August, entered the electorate of Saxony, at the head of a numerous army. There he declared, in a public manifesto, that his aims were only to re-establish the peace of the empire, and to support the dignity of its head. He assured the inhabitants that they might depend upon his protection; in case they should remain quiet; but threatened them with fire and sword should they presume to oppose his arms. In a rescript addressed to his ministers at foreign courts, he accused the Queen of Hungary of obstinacy, in refusing to acknowledge the Emperor, and restore his hereditary dominions: he said he had engaged in the league of Franckfort, to hinder the head of the empire from being oppressed: that he had no intention to violate the peace of Breslaw, or enter as a principal into this war: he affirmed, that his design was to act as auxiliary to the Emperor, and establish the quiet of Germany. He penetrated into Bohemia and undertook the siege of Prague, the governor of which surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war

war on the sixteenth day of September. He afterwards reduced Tabor, Bodweis, and Teyn, and in a word subdued the greatest part of the kingdom; the Austrian forces in that country being in no condition to stop his progress. Nevertheless, he was soon obliged to relinquish his conquests. Prince Charles of Lorraine was recalled from Alsace, and repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareschals de Coigni, Noailles, and Belleisle. Then he marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani at Merotitz. The King of Poland Elector of Saxony, at this juncture, declared in favor of her Hungarian Majesty. A convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions had been signed between those two powers in December; and now Prince Charles of Lorraine was re-enforced by twenty thousand Saxon troops, under the conduct of the Duke of Saxe-Weisensels. The combined army was superior to that of his Prussian Majesty, whom they resolved to engage. But he retired before them, and having evacuated all the places he had garrisoned in Bohemia, retreated with precipitation into Silesia. There his troops were put into winter-quarters; and he himself returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the issue of the campaign.

§ XIV. During these transactions, Count Seckendorf marched into Bavaria, at the head of a strong army, drove the Austrians out of that electorate, and the Emperor regained possession of

BOOK. Munich, his capital, on the twenty-second day of
II. October. In August the French army passed the
1744. Rhine at Fort-Louis, and invested the strong and important city of Friburgh, defended by General Demnitz, at the head of nine thousand Veterans. The King of France arrived in the camp on the eleventh day of October; and the siege was carried on with uncommon vigor. The Austrian governor made incredible efforts in the defence of the place, which he maintained until it was reduced to a heap of ruins, and one half of the garrison destroyed. At length, however, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, after the trenches had been open five-and-forty days, during which they had killed above fifteen thousand of the besiegers. With this conquest, the French King closed the campaign, and his army was cantoned along the Rhine, under the inspection of the Count de Maillebois. By the detachments drawn from the French army in Flanders, Count de Saxe had found himself considerably weaker than the confederates: he threw up strong intrenchments behind the Lys, where he remained on the defensive, until he was re-enforced by the Count de Clermont, who commanded a separate body on the side of Newport. The allies, to the number of seventy thousand, passed the Schelde, and advanced towards Helchin: but the enemy being so advantageously posted, that they could not attack him with any prospect of advantage, they filed on in sight of Tournay; and on the eighth day of August encamped in the plains of Lisle, in hope of drawing Count Saxe

from the situation in which he was so strongly fortified. Here they foraged for several days, and laid the open country under contribution: however, they made no attempt on the place itself, which in all probability would have fallen into their hands, had they invested it at their first approach; for then there was no other garrison but two or three battalions of militia: but Count Saxe soon threw in a considerable reinforcement. The allies were unprovided with a train of battering cannon; and their commanders would not deviate from the usual form of war. Besides, they were divided in their opinions, and despised one another. General Wade, who commanded the English and Hanoverians, was a vain, weak man, without confidence, weight or authority; and the Austrian general, the Duke d'Arenberg, was a proud, rapacious glutton, devoid of talents and sentiment. After having remained for some time in sight of Lisle, and made a general forage without molestation, they retired to their former camp on the Schelde; from whence they soon marched into winter-quarters. Count Saxe at length quitted his lines; and, by way of retaliation, sent out detachments to ravage the Low-Countries, to the very gates of Ghent and Bruges. The conduct of the allied generals was severely censured in England, and ridiculed in France, not only in private conversation but also on their public theatres, where it became the subject of farces and pantomimes.

§ XV. The campaign in Italy produced divers

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II.

1744.

vicissitudes of fortune. The King of Naples having assembled an army, joined Count Gages, and published a manifesto in vindication of his conduct, which was a direct violation of the neutrality he had promised to observe. He maintained, that his moderation had been undervalued by the courts of London and Vienna; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the Queen of Hungary made no secret of her intention to invade his dominions. This charge was not without foundation. The emissaries of the house of Austria endeavoured to excite a rebellion in Naples, which Prince Lobkowitz had orders to favor by an invasion. This general was encamped at Monte Rotundo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, when, in the month of June, the confederates advanced to Velletri. While the two armies remained in sight of each other, Prince Lobkowitz detached a strong body of forces, under Count Soro and General Gorani, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, and took the city of Aquila, where they distributed a manifesto, in which the Queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and submit again to the House of Austria. This step, however, produced little or no effect; and the Austrian detachment retired at the approach of the Duke of Vieuville, with a superior number of forces. In August, Count Brown, at the head of an Austrian detachment, surprised Velletri in the night; and the King of the Two Sicilies, with the Duke of Modena, were in the utmost

danger of being taken. They escaped by a postern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of Count Gages, who performed the part of a great general on this occasion. He rallied the fugitives, dispelled the panic and confusion which had begun to prevail in his camp, and made a disposition for cutting off the retreat of the Austrians. Count Brown, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, thought proper to secure his retreat, which he effected with great art and gallantry, carrying off a prodigious booty. Three thousand Spaniards are said to have fallen in this action; and eight hundred men were taken, with some standards and colors. Count Mariani, a Neapolitan general, was among the prisoners. The Austrians lost about six hundred men; and General Nevati fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit produced no consequence of importance. The heats of autumn proved so fatal to the Austrians, who were not accustomed to the climate, that Prince Lobkowitz saw his army mouldering away, without any possibility of its being recruited: besides, the country was so drained that he could no longer procure subsistence. Impelled by these considerations, he meditated a retreat. On the eleventh day of November, he decamped from Faiola, marched under the walls of Rome, passed the Tybur at Ponte Molle, formerly known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had just time to break down behind him, when the vanguard of the Spaniards and Neapolitans appeared. Part of his rear-guard, however, was taken, with Count

BOOK Soro who commanded it, at Nocera; and his army
 111. suffered greatly by desertion. Nevertheless, he
 1744. continued his retreat with equal skill and expedition,
 passed the mountains of Gubio, and by the way
 of Viterbo reached the Bolognese. The Pope was
 altogether passive. In the beginning of the cam-
 paign he had caressed Lobkowitz; and now he re-
 ceived the King of the Two Sicilies with marks
 of the warmest affection. That prince having vi-
 sited the chief curiosities of Rome, returned to
 Naples, leaving part of his troops under the
 command of Count Gages.

§ XVI. Fortune likewise favored his brother
 Don Philip in Savoy and Piedmont. He was early
 in the season joined at Antibes by the French army,
 under the conduct of the Prince of Conti. In the
 latter end of March, the combined forces passed
 the Var, reduced the castle of Aspremont, and
 entered the city of Nice, without opposition. In
 April, they attacked the King of Sardinia, who,
 with twenty thousand men, was strongly intrenched
 among the mountains at Villa-Franca. The action
 was obstinate and bloody; but their numbers and
 perseverance prevailed. He was obliged to abandon
 his posts, and embark on board of the British
 squadron, which transported him and his troops to
 Vado. The intention of Don Philip was to pene-
 trate through the territories of Genoa into the
 Milanese; but Admiral Matthews, who hovered
 with a strong squadron on that coast, sent a mes-
 sage to the republic, declaring, that should the
 combined army be suffered to pass through her

dominions, the King of Great-Britain would consider such a step as a breach of their neutrality. The senate, intimidated by this intimation, entreated the princes to desist from their design; and they resolved to chuse another route. They desiled towards Piedmont, and assaulted the strong post of Chateau-Dauphiné, defended by the King of Sardinia in person. After a desperate attack, in which they lost four thousand men, the place was taken: the garrison of Demont surrendered at discretion, and the whole country of Piedmont was laid under contribution. His Sardinian Majesty was not in a condition to hazard a battle; and therefore, posted himself at Saluzzes, in order to cover his capital. The combined army advanced to the strong and important town of Coni, which was invested in the beginning of September. Baron Leutrum the governor made an obstinate defence, and the situation of the place was such as rendered the siege difficult, tedious, and bloody. The King of Sardinia being re-enforced by ten thousand Austrians, under General Pallavicini, advanced to its relief, and a battle ensued. The action was maintained with great vigor on both sides, till night, when his Majesty finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, retired in good order to his camp at Muraffo. He afterwards found means to throw a re-enforcement and supply of provisions into Coni; and the heavy rains that fell at this period, not only retarded, but even dispirited the besiegers. Nevertheless, the princes persisted in their design, notwithstanding a

B O O K dearth of provisions, and the approach of winter,
 11. till the latter end of November, when the Chevalier
 1744. de Soto entered the place, with six hundred fresh
 men. This incident was no sooner known, than
 the princes abandoned their enterprise; and leaving
 their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Pied-
 montese, marched back to Demont. Having disman-
 tled the fortifications of this place, they retreated
 with great precipitation to Dauphiné, and were
 dreadfully harassed by the Vaudois and light
 troops in the service of his Sardinian Majesty, who
 now again saw himself in possession of Piedmont. The
 French troops were quartered in Dauphiné: but Don
 Philip still maintained his footing in Savoy, the in-
 habitants of which he fleeced without mercy.

§ XVII. After the action at Toulon, nothing of
 consequence was achieved by the British squadron
 in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power
 of Great-Britain was during the summer, quite
 inactive. In the month of June, Commodore Anson
 returned from his voyage of three years and nine
 months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous
 globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed
 with a small squadron to the South-Sea in order
 to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and Peru.
 Two of his large ships having been separated from
 him in a storm before he weathered Cape-Horn,
 had put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of
 Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe.
 A frigate commanded by Captain Cheap, was
 shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-
 Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful

tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez; where he was joined by the Gloucester, a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadron. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta; set sail from the coast of Mexico, for the Philippine isles; and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed for want of men to navigate them, so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship, the Centurion, and that but very indifferently manned; for the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships, and the scorbutic disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a re-enforcement of sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla, one of the Philippine islands. In hopes of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the straits of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Nuestra Señora de Cabodonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value

BOOK of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this windfal, he returned to Canton; from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good-Hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety. Though this fortunate commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expense of the expedition; and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla-ship escaped the vigilance of the English commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity; but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations; and the King raised him to the dignity of a peerage. In July, Sir John Balchen, an Admiral of approved valor and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which was counted the most beautiful first rate in the world, foundered at sea; and this brave commander perished, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred choice seamen. On the fourth day of October, after the siege of

Friburgh, the Marechal Duke de Belleisle, and his brother, happened, in their way to Berlin, to halt at a village in the forest of Hartz, dependent on the electorate of Hanover. There they were apprehended by the bailiff of the place, and conducted as prisoners to Osterode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, where they embarked for England. They resided at Windsor till the following year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel which had been established between Great-Britain and France at Franckfort, and released accordingly, after they had been treated by the British nobility with that respect and hospitality which was due to their rank and merit^{*}.

§ XVIII. The dissensions in the British cabinet were now ripened into another revolution in the ministry. Lord Carteret, who was by this time Earl Granville in consequence of his mother's death, had engrossed the royal favor so much, that the Duke of N—— and his brother are said to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatness. He had incurred the resentment of those who were distinguished by the appellation of Patriots, and entirely forfeited his popularity. The two brothers were very powerful by their parliamentary interest: they knew their own

^{*} Mr. Pope, the celebrated poet, died in the month of June. In October, the old Duchess of Marlborough resigned her breath, in the eighty-fifth year of her age; immensely rich, and very little regretted, either by her own family, or the world in general.

BOOK II. strength, and engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the opposition, against the prime minister and his measures. This coalition was dignified with the epithet of "The Broad Bottom," as if it had been established on a true constitutional foundation, comprehending individuals of every class, without distinction of party. The appellation, however, which they assumed was afterwards converted into a term of derision. The Earl of Granville perceiving the gathering storm, and foreseeing the impossibility of withstanding such an opposition in parliament, wisely avoided the impending danger and disgrace, by a voluntary resignation of his employments. The Earl of Harrington succeeded him as secretary of state. The Duke of Bedford was appointed first lord of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Chesterfield declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The Lords Gower and Cobham were re-established in the offices they had resigned: Mr. Lyttelton was admitted as a commissioner of the treasury; even Sir John Hynde Cotton accepted of a place at court; and Sir John Phillips sat at the board of trade and plantations, though he soon renounced this employment. This was rather a change of men than of measures, and turned out to the ease and advantage of the sovereign; for his views were no longer thwarted by an obstinate opposition in parliament. The session was opened on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the usual manner. The Commons unanimously granted about six millions and a half for the service of

the ensuing year, to be raised by the land, the malt, and the salt-taxes, the sinking fund, and an additional duty on wines. In January, the Earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-General to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the Queen of Hungary, the King of Poland, and the maritime powers. This was a mutual guarantee of the dominions belonging to the contracting parties: but his Polish majesty was paid for his concurrence, with an annual subsidy of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two thirds of which were defrayed by England, and the remainder was disbursed by the United Provinces¹.

§ XIX. The business of the British parliament being discussed, the session was closed in the beginning of May; and immediately after the prorogation the King set out for Hanover. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. which happened in the month of January, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The

AN. 1745.

¹ Robert Earl of Oxford, late prime minister, died in March, after having for a very short time enjoyed a pension of four thousand pounds granted by the crown, in consideration of his past services. Though he had for such a length of time directed the application of the public treasure, his circumstances were not affluent: he was liberal in his disposition, and had such a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that little was left for his own private occasions.

- BOOK** Grand Duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian Majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the Imperial crown; while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French King and his allies. The court of Vienna, taking advantage of the late Emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of General Bathiani, who routed the French and Palatine troops at Pfaffenhoffen; took possession of Rain; surrounded and disarmed six thousand Hessians in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt; and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburgh, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the Empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the Elector of Cologne, and of his general, Count Seckendorf, who exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately begun at Fuesfen, where in April the treaty was concluded. The Queen consented to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as Empress Dowager; to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition, which she had taken: on the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, and became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction: he acknowledged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the Queen; and engaged to give

his voice for the Grand Duke, at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans. Until that should be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldstadt should be garrisoned by neutral troops, and that Braunau and Scardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, should remain in the Queen's possession, though without prejudice to the civil government, or the Elector's revenue. In the mean time he dismissed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were permitted to retire without molestation.

§ XX. The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Franckfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army, commanded by the Grand Duke in person, marched thither from the Danube; and the Prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the Grand Duke repaired to Franckfort, where, on the second day of September, he was by a majority of voices declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. Mean while the King of Prussia had made great progress in the conquest of Silesia. The campaign began in January, when the Hungarian insurgents were obliged to retire into Moravia. In the following month the Prussian General Lehwald defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by General Helfrich: the town of Ratibor was taken by assault; and the King entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy

- BOOK** thousand men. Prince Charles of Lorraine, being
 11. joined by the Duke of Saxe-Weisenfels and twenty-
 1745. thousand Saxons, penetrated into Silesia by the
 defiles of Landshut; and were attacked by his
 Prussian Majesty in the plains of Striegan, near
 Friedberg. The battle was maintained from
 morning till noon, when the Saxons giving way,
 Prince Charles was obliged to retire with the loss
 of twelve thousand men, and a great number of
 colors, standards, and artillery. This victory,
 obtained on the fourth day of June, complete as
 it was, did not prove decisive; for, though the
 victor transferred the seat of the war into Bohe-
 mia, and maintained his army by raising contribu-
 tions in that country, the Austrians resolved to
 hazard another engagement. Their aim was to
 surprise him in his camp at Sohr, which they
 attacked on the thirtieth of September, at day-
 break: but they met with such a warm reception,
 that notwithstanding their repeated efforts during
 the space of four hours, they were repulsed with
 considerable damage, and retreated to Jaromire,
 leaving five thousand killed upon the spot, be-
 sides two thousand that were taken, with many
 standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. The
 loss of this battle was in a great measure owing
 to the avarice of the irregulars, who having pene-
 trated into the Prussian camp, began to pillage
 with great eagerness, giving the King an oppor-
 tunity to rally his disordered troops, and restore the
 battle: nevertheless, they retired with the plunder
 of his baggage, including his military chest, the
 officers

officers of his chancery. his own secretary, and all the papers of his cabinet.

CHAP.

VIII.

1746

§ XXI. After this action his Prussian Majesty returned to Berlin, and breathed nothing but peace and moderation. In August he had signed a convention with the King of Great-Britain, who became guarantee of his possessions in Silesia, as yielded by the treaty of Breslaw; and he promised to vote for the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the basis of a more general accommodation. But he now pretended to have received undoubted intelligence, that the King of Poland and the Queen of Hungary had agreed to invade Brandenburg with three different armies; and that for this purpose his Polish Majesty had demanded of the Czarina the succours stipulated by treaty between the two crowns. Alarmed, or seemingly alarmed, at this information, he solicited the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpose their good offices with the court of Petersburg. Yet, far from waiting for the result of these remonstrances, he made a sudden irruption into Lusatia, took possession of Gorkitz, and obliged Prince Charles of Lorraine to retire before him into Bohemia. Then he entered Lipsick, and laid Saxony under contribution. The King of Poland, unable to resist the torrent, quitted his capital, and took refuge in Prague. His troops, re-enforced by a body of Austrians, were defeated at Pirna on the fifteenth day of December; and his Prussian Majesty became master of Dresden without further

VOL. IV.

S

BOOK opposition. The King of Poland, thus deprived
 11. of his hereditary dominions, was fain to acquiesce
 1745. in such terms as the conqueror thought proper to
 impose; and the treaty of Dresden was concluded,
 under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty. By
 this convention the King of Prussia retained all
 the contributions he had levied in Saxony; and
 was entitled to a million of German crowns, to
 be paid by his Polish Majesty at the next fair of
 Leipfick. He and the Elector Palatine consented
 to acknowledge the Grand Duke as Emperor of
 Germany; and this last confirmed to his Prussian
 Majesty certain privileges *de non evocando*, which
 had been granted by the late Emperor, with re-
 gard to some territories possessed by the King of
 Prussia, though not belonging to the electorate
 of Brandenburg. Immediately after the ratifica-
 tion of this treaty, the Prussian troops evacuated
 Saxony; and the peace of Germany was restored.

XXII. Though the French King could not pre-
 vent the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Im-
 perial throne, he resolved to humble the house
 of Austria, by making a conquest of the Nether-
 lands. A prodigious army was there assembled,
 under the auspices of Mareschal Count de Saxe;
 and his Most Christian Majesty, with the Dauphin,
 arriving in the camp, they invested the strong
 town of Tournay on the thirtieth day of April.
 The Dutch garrison consisted of eight thousand
 men, commanded by the old Baron Dorth, who
 made a vigorous defence. The Duke of Cum-
 berland assumed the chief command of the allied

army assembled at Soignies: he was assisted with the advice of the Count Konigseg, an Austrian general, and the Prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch forces. Their army was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy; nevertheless, they resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. They accordingly advanced to Leuse; and on the twenty-eighth day of April took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence, from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vezon, having Fontenoy in their front. Next day was employed by the allies in driving the enemy from some out posts, and clearing the defiles through which they were obliged to advance to the attack; while the French completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations for their reception. On the thirtieth day of April the Duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions, began his march to the enemy at two o'clock in the morning: a brisk cannonade ensued; and about nine both armies were engaged. The British infantry drove the French beyond their lines: but the left wing failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they measured back their ground with some disorder, from the prodigious fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardor repulsed the enemy to their camp with great slaughter: but, being wholly unsupported by the other wing, and exposed both in front and flank to a

CHAP.
VIII.
1745.

S 2

BOOK dreadful fire, which did great execution, the
II. Duke was obliged to make the necessary dis-
1745. positions for a retreat about three o'clock in the
 afternoon; and this was effected in tolerable order.
 The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and
 the carnage on both sides was very considerable.
 The allies lost about twelve thousand men, in-
 cluding a good number of officers; among these
 were Lieutenant-General Campbell, and Major-
 General Ponsonby. The victory cost the French
 almost an equal number of lives; and no honor
 was lost by the vanquished. Had the allies given
 battle on the preceding day, before the enemy had
 taken their measures, and received all their re-en-
 forcements, they might have succeeded in their
 endeavours to relieve Tournay. Although the at-
 tack was generally judged rash and precipitate,
 the British and Hanoverian troops fought with
 such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had
 been properly sustained by the Dutch forces, and
 their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in
 all likelihood, would have been obliged to aban-
 don their enterprise. The Duke of Cumberland
 left his sick and wounded to the humanity of the
 victors; and retiring to Aeth, encamped in an
 advantageous situation at Lessines. The garrison
 of Tournay, though now deprived of all hope
 of succour, maintained the place to the twenty-
 first day of June, when the governor obtained an
 honorable capitulation. After the conquest of
 this frontier, which was dismantled, the Duke
 of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a

design upon Ghent, sent a detachment of four thousand men to re-enforce the garrison of that city: but they fell into an ambuscade at Pas-du-mêle; and were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend: on that very night, which was the twelfth of June, Ghent was surprised by a detachment of the French army. Then they invested Ostend, which, though defended by an English garrison, and open to the sea, was after a short siege, surrendered by capitulation on the fourteenth day of August. Dendermonde, Oudenarde, Newport, and Aeth underwent the same fate; while the allied army lay intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp. The French King, having subdued the greatest part of the Austrian Netherlands, returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

CHAP.
VIII.
1745

§ XXIII. The campaign in Italy was unpropitious to the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia. Count Gages passed the Apennines, and entered the state of Lucca: from thence he proceeded by the eastern coast of Genoa to Leftride-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accomplished, and re-enforced with ten thousand Genoese: mean while Prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena and took post at Parma: but he was soon succeeded by Count Schuylemberg, and sent to command the Austrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milanese without further opposition. Count Gages, with thirty thousand men, took possession of Serravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Austrians to retire under the cannon of Tortona: but when Don

S 3

BOOK Philip, at the head of forty thousand troops, made himself master of Acqui, the King of Sardinia and the Austrian general, unable to stem the torrent, retreated behind the Tanaro. The strong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewise reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled his Sardinian Majesty to take shelter on the other side of the Po. Then Pavia was won by escalade; and the city of Milan submitted to the Infant, though the Austrian garrison still maintained the citadel: all Piedmont, on both sides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a siege: so that by the month of October the territories belonging to the house of Austria, in Italy, were wholly subdued; and the King of Sardinia stripped of all his dominions: yet he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all proposals of a separate accommodation.

§ XXIV. The naval transactions of Great-Britain were in the course of this year remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia, the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken: but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet, in the East-Indies, made prize of several French ships richly laden; and Commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy,

under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisbourg on the isle of Cape-Breton, in North-America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expense. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general assembly, and approved by his Majesty, who sent instructions to commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New-England in this expedition. A body of six thousand men, was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataquay, whose influence was extensive in that country; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war; and the troops of New-England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town: and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, re-enforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner, that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers;

BOOK and, indeed, the reduction of Louisbourg was chiefly
 II. owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr.
 1745. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in
 the service of England. The operations of the
 siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and
 officers who commanded the British marines; and
 the Americans being ignorant of war, were con-
 tented to act under their directions. The town being
 considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of
 the besiegers, and the garrison despairing of relief,
 the governor capitulated on the seventeenth day
 of June, when the city of Louisbourg, and the
 isle of Cape-Breton, were surrendered to his Bri-
 tannic Majesty. The garrison and inhabitants
 engaged that they would not bear arms for twelve
 months against Great-Britain or her allies; and
 being embarked in fourteen cartel-ships, were
 transported to Rochefort. In a few days after the
 surrender of Louisbourg, two French East-India
 ships, and another from Peru, laden with trea-
 sure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition
 that it still belonged to France, and were taken
 by the English Squadron.

§ XXV. The news of this conquest being trans-
 mitted to England, Mr. Pepperel was preferred
 to the dignity of a baronet of Great-Britain, and
 congratulatory addresses were presented to the
 King on the success of his Majesty's arms. The
 possession of Cape-Breton was, doubtless, a valu-
 able acquisition to Great-Britain. It not only dis-
 tressed the French in their fishery and navigation,
 but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalship
 from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland.

It freed New-England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great-Britain. The plan of this conquest was originally laid by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of Admiralty in New-England. He demonstrated that the reduction of Cape-Breton would put the English in sole possession of the fishery of North-America, which would annually return to Great-Britain two millions sterling for the manufactures yearly shipped to the plantations; employ many thousand families that were otherwise unserviceable to the public; increase the shipping and mariners; extend navigation; cut off all communication between France and Canada by the river St. Laurence; so that Quebec would fall of course into the hands of the English, who might expel the French entirely from America, open a correspondence with the remote Indians, and render themselves masters of the profitable fur-trade, which was now engrossed by the enemy. The natives of New-England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a step-mother to her own colonies, was now convinced of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals. Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce; inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and inde-

BOOK pence. The trade of Great-Britain, clogged
II. with heavy taxes and impositions, has for some
1745. time languished in many valuable branches. The French have underfold our cloths, and spoiled our markets in the Levant. Spain is no longer supplied as usual with the commodities of England: the exports to Germany must be considerably diminished by the misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the house of Austria; consequently her greatest resource must be in her communication with her own colonies, which consume her manufactures, and make immense returns in sugar, rum, tobacco, fish, timber, naval stores, iron, furs, drugs, rice, and indigo. The southern plantations likewise produce silk; and with due encouragement might furnish every thing that could be expected from the most fertile soil and the happiest climate. The continent of North-America, if properly cultivated, will prove an inexhaustible fund of wealth and strength to Great-Britain; and perhaps it may become the last asylum of British liberty, when the nation is enslaved by domestic despotism or foreign dominion, when her substance is wasted, her spirit broke, and the laws and constitution of England are no more: then those colonies, sent off by our fathers, may receive and entertain their sons as hapless exiles, and ruined refugees.

§ XXVI. While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were thus exposed to the ravages of war, and subjected to such vicissitudes of fortune, Great-Britain underwent a dangerous

convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of ascending the throne of his ancestors, resolved to make an effort for that purpose, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. The Jacobites in England and Scotland had promised, that if he would land in Britain at the head of a regular army, they would supply him with provisions, carriages, and horses, and a great number of them declared they would take up arms, and join his standard: but they disapproved of his coming over without forces, as a dangerous enterprise, that would in all probability end in the ruin of himself and all his adherents. This advice, including an exact detail of his father's interest, with the dispositions of his particular friends in every town and county, was transmitted to London in January, in order to be forwarded to prince Charles: but the person with whom it was intrusted could find no safe method of conveyance; so that he sent it back to Scotland, from whence it was dispatched to France; but before it reached Paris, Charles had left that kingdom. Had the paper come to his hands in due time; perhaps he would not have embarked in the undertaking, though he was stimulated to the attempt by many concurring motives. Certain it is, he was cajoled by the sanguine misrepresentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition. They assured him that the whole nation was disaffected to the reigning

BOOK family: that the people could no longer bear the
II. immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing;
1745 and that the most considerable persons of the kingdom would gladly seize the first opportunity of crowding to his standard. On the other hand, he knew the British government had taken some effectual steps to alienate the friends of his house from the principles they had hitherto professed. Some of them had accepted posts and pensions: others were preferred in the army; and the parliament were so attached to the reigning family, that he had nothing to hope from their deliberations. He expected no material succour from the court of France; he foresaw that delay would diminish the number of his adherents in Great-Britain; and, therefore, resolved to seize the present occasion, which in many respects was propitious to his design. Without doubt, had he been properly supported, he could not have found a more favorable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great-Britain: for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops; King George was in Germany; the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British army, was employed in Flanders, and great part of the Highlanders were keen for insurrection. Their natural principles were on this occasion stimulated by the suggestions of revenge. At the beginning of the war, a regiment of those people had been formed, and transported with the rest of the British troops to Flanders. Before they were embarked, a number of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by

CHAR.
VIII.
1745.

promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad; and this was really the case. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to submit, brought back to London pinioned like malefactors, and tried for desertion. Three were shot to death *in terrorem*; and the rest were sent in exile to the plantations. Those who suffered were persons of some consequence in their own country; and their fate was deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged. It was considered as a national outrage; and the Highlanders who are naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

§ XXVII. The young Pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms, on his private credit, without the knowledge of the French court, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, intimating the place where he intended to land, communicating a private signal, and assuring them he should be with them by the middle of June. These precautions being taken, he embarked on board of a small frigate at Port St. Nazaire, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir John Macdonald with a few other Irish and Scottish adventurers; and setting sail on the fourteenth of July, was joined off Belleisle by the *Elisabeth* a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, as his convoy*. Their

* The *Elisabeth*, a king's ship, was procured as a convoy, by the interest of Mr. Walsh, an Irish merchant at Nantes; and on board of her fifty French young gentlemen embarked as volunteers.

BOOK

II.

1745.

design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland: but falling in with the Lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The *Elisabeth* was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest: but the Lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. The disaster of the *Elisabeth* was a great misfortune to the Adventurer, as by her being disabled he lost a great quantity of arms, and about one hundred able officers, who were embarked on board of her for the benefit of his expedition. Had this ship arrived in Scotland, she could easily have reduced Fort-William, situated in the midst of the clans attached to the Stuart family. Such a conquest, by giving lustre to the Prince's arms, would have allured many to his standard, who were indifferent in point of principle; and encouraged a great number of Highlanders to join him, who were restricted by the apprehension, that their wives and families would be subject to insults from the English garrison of this fortress. Prince Charles in the frigate continued his course to the western isles of Scotland. After a voyage of eighteen days he landed on a little island between Barra and South-Inst, two of the Hebrides: then he re-embarked, and in a few days arrived at Boradale in Arnsfacy, on the confines of Lochnannach, where he was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountaineers, under their respective chiefs or leaders. On the nineteenth

day of August, the Marquis of Tullibardine erected the Pretender's standard at Glenfinnan. Some of those, however, on whom Charles principally depended, now stood aloof, either fluctuating in their principles, astonished at the boldness of the undertaking, or startled at the remonstrances of their friends, who did not fail to represent, in aggravated colors, all the danger of embarking in such a desperate enterprise. Had the government acted with proper vigor when they received intelligence of his arrival, the Adventurer must have been crushed in embryo, before any considerable number of his adherents could have been brought together: but the lords of the regency seemed to slight the information, and even to suspect the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. They were soon convinced of their mistake. Prince Charles having assembled about twelve hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A handful of Keppoch's clan, commanded by Major Donald Mac Donald, even before they joined the Pretender, attacked two companies of new-raised soldiers, who, with their officer, were disarmed after an obstinate dispute: another captain of the King's forces, falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the Pretender's manifestos, and a passport for his personal safety. The administration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person

BOOK who should apprehend the Prince Adventurer.
11. The same price was set upon the head of the
1745. Elector of Hanover, in a proclamation published by the Pretender. A courier was dispatched to Holland, to hasten the return of his Majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the King by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expense. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign; and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations were formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities, and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to support the public credit, by receiving, as usual, Bank-notes in payment, for the purposes of traffic. The protestant clergy of all denominations exerted themselves with extraordinary ardor, in preaching against the religion of Rome and the Pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed

confirmed in their principles, by several spiritual productions published for the occasion.

§ XXVIII. In a word, the bulk of the nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprise of the Pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding, however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North-Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. The Highlanders forthwith marched to Perth, where the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great-Britain, and the public money seized for his use: the same steps were taken at Dundee, and other places. Prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of Duke of Perth, the Viscount Strathallan, Lord Nairn, Lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction, with their followers. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athol, as heir of blood to the titles and estate which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood

BOOK of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh,
II. where they were joined by Lord Elcho, son of
1745. the Earl of Wemyss, and other persons of some distinction. On the sixteenth day of September, Charles summoned the town to surrender. The inhabitants were divided by faction, and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. Several deputations were sent from the town to the Pretender, in order to negotiate terms of capitulation. In the mean time, one of the gates being opened for the admission of a coach, Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most powerful of the highland chiefs, rushed into the place with a party of his men, and secured it without opposition. Next morning the whole rebel army entered, and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holyrood-house in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross: there also the manifesto was read, in which the Chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the Union, and redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms: but the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison under the command of General Gueft, an old officer of experience and capacity.

§ XXIX. During these transactions, Sir John

Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with this troops, and on the seventeenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired with precipitation from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. With this re-enforcement, his troops amounted to near three thousand men; and he began his march to Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young Pretender, at the head of about two thousand four hundred Highlanders half-armed, who charged them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the King's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset: the general officers having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream on the Tweed. All the infantry were either killed or taken; and the colors, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Never was victory more complete, or obtained at a smaller expense; for not above fifty of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the King's troops were killed on the field of battle; and among

BOOK

11.

1745.

these Colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who disdained to save his life at the expense of his honor. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. Prince Charles bore his good fortune with moderation. He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory he had obtained: the wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole, which the greater part of them shamefully broke in the sequel. From this victory the Pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was supplied with a train of field-artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers. After the battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands, and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favor. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

§ XXX. Charles continued to reside in the palace of Holyrood-house⁵: and took measures for

⁵ While he resided at Edinburgh, some of the presbyterian

cutting off the communication between the castle and the city. General Gueft declared that he would demolish the city, unless the blockade should be raised, so as that provision might be carried into the castle. After having waited the return of an express which he had found means to dispatch to court, he began to put his threats in execution, by firing upon the town. Some houses were beaten down, and several persons killed even at the market-cross. The citizens, alarmed at this disaster, sent a deputation to the prince, entreating him to raise the blockade; and he complied with their request. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. He imposed taxes; seized the merchandise that was deposited in the King's warehouses at Leith, and other places; and compelled the city of Glasgow to accommodate him with a large sum to be repaid when the peace of the kingdom should be re-established. The number of his followers daily increased: and he received considerable supplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France, where his interest seemed to rise in proportion to the success of his arms. The greater and richer

clergy continued to preach in the churches of that city, and publicly prayed for King George, without suffering the least punishment or molestation. One minister in particular, of the name of Mac Vicar, being solicited by some Highlanders to pray for their prince, promised to comply with their request, and performed his promise in words to this effect: "And as for the young prince, who is
" come hither in quest of an earthly crown, grant, O
" Lord, that he may speedily receive a crown of glory."

T 3

BOOK part of Scotland was averse to his family and
 11. pretensions: but the people were unarmed and
 1745. undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. By this time, however, the Prince-Pretender was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pitligo; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to re-enforce the victor whose army lay encamped at Duddingston, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and Ogilvie were sons to the Earls of Wemys and Airly; so that their influence was far from being extensive. Pitligo was a nobleman of a very amiable character, as well as of great personal interest; and great dependence was placed upon the power and attachment of Lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the Chevalier de St. George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the Pretender. This old nobleman is the same Simon Frazer whom we have had occasion to mention as a partisan and emissary of the court of St. Germain's, in the year one thousand seven hundred and three. He had renounced his connexions with that family; and, in the rebellion immediately after the accession of King George I. approved himself a warm friend to the protestant succession. Since that period he had been induced, by disgust and ambition, to change his principles again, and was in secret

an enthusiast in jacobitism. He had greatly augmented his estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the Highlands, where, however, he was rather dreaded than beloved. He was bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation, which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin. While Charles resided at Edinburgh, the Marquis de Guilles arrived at Montrose, as envoy from the French King, with several officers, some cannon, and a considerable quantity of small arms for the use of that adventurer.

§ XXXI. While the young Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had gained, the ministry of Great-Britain took every possible measure to retard his progress. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The Duke of Argyle began to arm his vassals; but, not before he had obtained the sanction of the legislature. Twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland: the Lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his Majesty: Sir Alexander Macdonald declared for King George, and the Laird Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to

* He solicited, and is said to have obtained of the Chevalier de St. George, the patent of a duke, and a commission for being lord-lieutenant of all the Highlands.

T 4

B O O K strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen, though supposed to be otherwise affected, were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, president of the College of Justice at Edinburgh; a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies, and some of these he bestowed upon individuals who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise, to the Pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family; and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the Pretender; and, therefore, he may be said to have been one great cause of that Adventurer's miscarriage. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his Majesty; and by his vigilance, over-awed the disaffected chieftains of that country, who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. Immediately after the defeat of Cope,

11.

1745.

six thousand Dutch troops⁷ arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The parliament meeting on the sixteenth day of October, his Majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the Habeas-Corpus-act; and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. Immediately after the session was opened the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty: the county-regiments were completed: the volunteers, in different parts of the kingdom, employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this for-

⁷ They were composed of the forces who had been in garrison at Tournay and Dendermonde when those places were taken, and engaged by capitulation, that they should not perform any military function before the first day of January in the year 1747: so they could not have acted in England without the infringement of a solemn treaty.

BOOK
II.
1745.

midable invader. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea; especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships laden with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the Pretender in Scotland.

§ XXXII. This enterprising youth, having collected about five thousand men, resolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the west border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: the keys were delivered to him at Brampton, by the mayor and aldermen on their knees. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms: his father was proclaimed king of Great-Britain, and himself regent, by the magistrates in their formalities. General Wade being apprized of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. There he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time, orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles, notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of

Britain, to make a diversion in his favor; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malecontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where on the twenty-ninth day of the month, he established his head-quarters. There he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley. The inhabitants seemed to receive him with marks of affection; and his arrival was celebrated by illuminations, and other public rejoicings. His supposed intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to find a great number of adherents: but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broken down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Lichfield. He

BOOK had marched from Stafford to Stone; so that the
II. rebels, in turning off from Ashborne to Derby,
1745. had gained a march between him and London. Had Charles proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach: yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement, and running the risque of being enclosed within three armies, each greatly superior to his own in number and artillery. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the King resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, field-marshal and commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain. Some Romish priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment: the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, the weavers of Spital-fields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money-corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little con-

fidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England: they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman Catholics, and other friends of the house of Stuart and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people, who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

§ XXXIII. This state of suspense was of short duration. The young Pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf: one would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welch took no step to excite an insurrection in his favor: the French made no attempt towards an invasion: his court was divided into factions: the Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly, he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in

BOOK

11.

1746.

between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends and officers had assembled a body of forces in the North superior in number to those by whom he was attended. He called a council at Derby: and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by Lord Nairn with great vehemence: but, after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly, they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. On the ninth their vanguard arrived at Manchester: on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprized of their retreat; detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them; while General Wade began his march from Ferrybridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route: but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan: he, therefore, repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached General Oglethorpe, with his horse and dragoons, to join those who had been sent off from the Duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity,

that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished, in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the Duke's order, to harass them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, and lined the hedges, in order to harass part of the enemy's rear-guard, commanded by Lord John Murray; who, at the head of the Macphersons, attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and repulsed them with some loss. On the nineteenth day of the month, the Highland army reached Carlisle, where the majority of the English in the service of the Pretender were left, at their own desire. Charles, having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having thus accomplished one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed. But the most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, and lost a very few stragglers; but

BOOK retired with deliberation, and carried off their
II. cannon in the face of their enemy. The Duke of
1745. Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth the garrison surrendered on a sort of capitulation made with the Duke of Richmond. The prisoners, amounting to about four hundred, were imprisoned in different gaols in England, and the Duke returned to London.

§ XXXIV. The Pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government, for whose service it had raised a regiment of nine hundred men, under the command of the Earl of Home. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence by Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond, brothers to the Dukes of Gordon and Perth. This last nobleman had arrived from France in November, with a small re-enforcement of French and Irish, and a commission as general of these auxiliaries. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was re-enforced by the Earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Downcastle, and

and laid Fife under contribution. The Earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand Highlanders in the service of his Majesty. He convoyed provisions to Fort-Augustus and Fort-William: he secured the person of Lord Lovat, who still temporized, and at length this cunning veteran accomplished his escape. The Laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcairn, being detached from Inverness towards Aberdeenshire, were surprised and routed by Lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary; and that interest seemed to preponderate in the north of Scotland. Prince Charles being joined by Lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which General Blakeney commanded: but, his people were so little used to enterprises of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

§ XXXV. By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of General Hawley, who determined to relieve Stirling-castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the thirteenth day of January: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels were cantoned about Bannockburn. On the seventeenth day of the month, they began their march in two columns to attack the King's forces, and had forded the water of Carven, within three miles of Hawley's camp, before he discovered their intention. Such was his obstinacy, self-conceit, or contempt of the enemy, that he slighted the repeated intelligence he had received of their

CHAP.

VIII.

1746.

VOL. IV.

V

BOOK

II.

1746

motions and design, firmly believing they durst not hazard an engagement. At length, perceiving they had occupied the rising ground to the southward of Falkirk, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and drive them from the eminence; while his infantry formed, and were drawn up in order of battle. The Highlanders kept up their fire, and took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. Some of the dragoons rallied, and advanced again to the charge, with part of the infantry which had not been engaged: then the Pretender marched up at the head of his corps de reserve, consisting of the regiment of Lord John Drummond, and the Irish piquets. These re-enforcing the Camerons and the Stuarts in the front-line, immediately obliged the dragoons to give way a second time; and they again disordered the foot in their retreat. They set fire to their camp, and abandoned Falkirk with their baggage and train, which last had never reached the field of battle. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs, and fled in the utmost consternation. In all probability few or none of them would have escaped, had not General Hulse, and Brigadier Cholmondeley, rallied part of some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favored the retreat of the rest to Falkirk, from whence they retired

in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred, including Sir Robert Monro, Colonel Whitney, and some other officers of distinction. It was at this period, that the officers who had been taken at the battle of Preston-pans, and conveyed to Angus and Fife, finding themselves unguarded, broke their parole, and returned to Edinburgh, on pretence of their having been forcibly released by the inhabitants of those parts*.

§XXXVI. General Hawley, who had boasted that with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action: but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, it was judged necessary that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the Duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose. Over and above his being beloved by the army, it was suggested, that the appearance of a prince of the blood in Scotland might have a favorable effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom: he, therefore, began

* Sir Peter Halket, Captain Lucy Scott, Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming, with a few other gentlemen, adhered punctually to their parole, and their conduct was approved by his Majesty.

BOOK to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while,
 11. the French minister at the Hague having represented
 1745. to the States-General, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great-Britain were part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermonde, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term, the States thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his Most Christian Majesty. In the room of those troops six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederic of Hesse, son-in-law to his Britannic majesty. By this time the Duke of Cumberland had put himself at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and twelve hundred Highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of Colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted. He hoped to be re-enforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he, therefore, retired by Badenoch towards Inverness, which the Earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him almost without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. His next exploit was the siege of Fort-Augustus,

which he in a little time reduced. The Duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

CHAP.
VIII.
1746.

§ XXXVI. While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surprised a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were either killed or taken. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which was defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians marched to its relief, and obliged the rebels to retire. The Prince Pretender ordered all his forces to assemble, in order to begin their march for Aberdeen, to attack the Duke of Cumberland: but, in consequence of a remonstrance from the clans, who declined leaving their families at the mercy of the King's garrison in Fort-William, he resolved previously to reduce that fortress, the siege of which was undertaken by Brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service; but the place was so vigorously maintained by Captain Scot, that in the beginning of April they thought proper to relinquish the enterprise. The Earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, com-

BOOK. manded by the Duke of Perth: a major and sixty
II. men were taken prisoners; and the Earl was ob-
1746. liged to take shelter in the Isle of Skye. These
 little checks were counter-balanced by some ad-
 vantages which his Majesty's arms obtained. The
 sloop of war which the rebels had surprised at
 Montrose was re-taken in Sutherland, with a
 considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of
 arms on board, which she had brought from France
 for the use of the Pretender. In the same county,
 the Earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and
 was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who like-
 wise defeated a body of the rebels at Goldspie.
 This action happened on the very day which has
 been rendered famous by the victory obtained at
 Culloden.

CH A P. IX.

- I. *The rebels are totally defeated at Culloden.* II. *The duke of Cumberland takes possession of Inverness, and afterwards encamps at Fort-Augustus.* III. *The Prince-Pretender escapes to France.* IV. *Convulsion in the ministry.* V. *Liberality of the Commons.* VI. *Trial of the rebels. Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Lovat, and Mr. Ratcliff, are beheaded on Tower-hill.* VII. *The States-General alarmed at the progress of the French in the Netherlands.* VIII. *Count Saxe subdues all Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.* IX. *Reduces the strong fortress of Namur, and defeats the allied army at Raucoux.* X. *The French and Spaniards are compelled to abandon Piedmont, and the Milanese.* XI. *Don Philip is worsted at Codogno, and afterwards at Porto Freddo.* XII. *The Austrians take possession of Genoa. Count Brown penetrates into Provence.* XIII. *The Genoese expel the Austrians from their city.* XIV. *Madras in the East-Indies taken by the French.* XV. *Expedition to the coast of Bretagne, and attempt upon Port l'Orient.* XVI. *Naval transactions in the West-Indies. Conferences at Breda.* XVII. *Vast supplies granted by the Commons of England.* XVIII. *Parliament dissolved.* XIX. *The French and allies take the field in Flanders.* XX. *Prince of Orange elected Stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the United-Provinces.* XXI. *The confederates defeated at*

Laffeldt. XXII. *Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.* XXIII. *The Austrians undertake the siege of Genoa, which, however, they abandon.* XXIV. *The Chevalier de Belleisle slain in the attack of Exilles.* XXV. *A French squadron defeated and taken by the Admirals Anson and Warren.* XXVI. *Admiral Hawke obtains another victory over the French at sea.* XXVII. *Other naval transactions.* XXVIII. *Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.* XXIX. *Compliant temper of the new parliament. Preliminaries signed.* XXX. *Preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands.* XXXI. *Siege of Maestricht. Cessation of arms.* XXXII. *Transactions in the East and West-Indies.* XXXIII. *Conclusion of the definitive treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

CHAP. IX. 1746. § I. **I**N the beginning of April the Duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen and on the twelfth passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a detachment of them appeared on the opposite side. Why they did not dispute the passage is not easy to be conceived: but, indeed, from this instance of neglect, and their subsequent conduct, we may conclude they were under a total infatuation. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. The design of Charles, was to march in the night

from Culloden, and surprise, the Duke's army at day-break : for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred ; and on the night of the fifteenth the Highland army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy , and attack them at once on all quarters : but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts : the men had been under arms during the whole preceding night , were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them over-powered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed : others dropped off unperceived in the dark ; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the Duke's camp before sunrise. The design being thus frustrated , the Prince Pretender was with great reluctance prevailed upon by his general officers to measure back his way to Culloden, at which place he had no sooner arrived , than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provision ; and many , overcome with weariness and sleep , threw themselves down on the heath, and along the park - walls. Their repose, however, was soon interrupted in a very disagreeable manner. Their prince receiving intelligence that his enemies were in full march to attack him, resolved to hazard an engagement, and ordered his troops to be formed for that purpose. On the sixteenth day of April , the Duke of Cumberland having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and after a march of nine miles perceived the Highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of four thousand

B O O K men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces
II. of artillery. The royal army, which was much more
1746. numerous, the Duke immediately formed into three
 lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one
 o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began.
 The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did
 very little execution: but that of the King's troops
 made dreadful havoc among the enemy. Impatient
 of this fire, their front-line advanced to the attack,
 and about five hundred of the clans charged the
 Duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity.
 One regiment was disordered by the weight of this
 column: but two battalions advancing from the se-
 cond line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop
 to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great
 number. At the same time, the dragoons under
 Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulled down
 a park-wall that covered their right flank, and
 the cavalry falling in among the rebels, sword
 in hand, completed their confusion. The French
 piquets on their left covered the retreat of the High-
 landers by a close and regular fire; and then re-
 tired to Inverness, where they surrendered them-
 selves prisoners of war. An entire body of the
 rebels marched off the field in order, with their
 pipes playing, and the Pretender's standard displayed:
 the rest were routed with great slaughter; and their
 prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to re-
 tire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally
 defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The
 road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead
 bodies; and a good number of people, who, from

motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Twelve hundred rebels were slain or wounded on the field, and in the pursuit. The Earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and in a few days Lord Balmerino surrendered to a country gentleman, at whose house he presented himself for this purpose. The glory of the victory was sullied by the barbarity of the soldiers. They had been provoked by their former disgraces to the most savage thirst of revenge. Not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring: nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination: the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinged by humanity. The vanquished adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horsemen: he crossed the water of Nairn, and retired to the house of a gentleman in Strutharrick, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and solitary fugitive among the isles and mountains, for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever outlived. Thus, in one short hour, all his hope vanished, and the rebellion was entirely extinguished. One would almost imagine the conductors of this desperate enterprise had conspired their own destruction, as they

BOOK certainly neglected every step that might have contributed to their safety or success. They might
II. have opposed the Duke of Cumberland, at the
1746. passage of the Spey: they might, by proper conduct, have afterwards attacked his camp in the night, with a good prospect of success. As they were greatly inferior to him in number, and weakened with hunger and fatigue, they might have retired to the hills and fastnesses, where they would have found plenty of live-cattle for provision, recruited their regiments, and been joined by a strong re-enforcement, which was actually in full march to their assistance. But they were distracted by dissensions and jealousies: they obeyed the dictates of despair, and wilfully devoted themselves to ruin and death. When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the Duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both Houses of parliament congratulated his Majesty on the auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the Speakers; and the Commons, by bill, added five-and-twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

§ II. Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the Duke took possession of Inverness, where six-and-thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed: then he detached several parties to ravage the country. One of these apprehended the Lady Mackintosh, who was sent prisoner to Inverness. They did not plun-

der her house, but drove away her cattle, though her husband was actually in the service of government. The castle of Lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son, the Lord Macleod, were conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The Marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the Earl of Dunmore, were seized, and transported to the Tower of London, to which the Earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion: in a few months after the battle of Culloden, Murray, the Pretender's secretary, was apprehended; and the eldest son of Lord Lovat, having surrendered himself, was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. In a word, all the goals of Great-Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner, for want of necessaries, air, and exercise. Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates, which had arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic Majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from thence they travelled to Sweden. In the month of May, the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Augustus, where he encamped; and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the

BOOK fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were
 11. plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habi-
 1746. tation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

§ III. The humane reader cannot reflect upon such a scene without grief and horror: what then must have been the sensation of the fugitive prince, when he beheld these spectacles of woe, the dismal fruit of his ambition? He was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown. But, understanding his disguise was

discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended. He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations, he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet, he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humor. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the young Sheridan and some other Irish adherents, arrived in Lochnannach; and on the twentieth day of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the habit which he wore for disguise. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Cameron of Lochiel, and his brother, with a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and after having passed unseen, by

BOOK means of a thick fog, through a British Squadron
II. commanded by Admiral Lestock, and been chased
1746. by two English ships of war, arrived in safety at
 Roscau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne. Perhaps he
 would have found it still more difficult to escape,
 had not the vigilance and eagerness of the govern-
 ment been relaxed, in consequence of a report,
 that he had already fallen among some persons
 that were slain by a volley from one of the Duke's
 detachments.

§ IV. Having thus explained the rise, progress,
 and extinction of the rebellion, it will be neces-
 sary to take a retrospective view of the proceedings
 in parliament. The necessary steps being taken for
 quieting the intestine commotions of the kingdom,
 the two Houses began to convert their attention to
 the affairs of the continent. On the fourteenth
 day of January, the King repaired to the House
 of Peers, and in a speech from the throne gave
 his parliament to understand, that the States-Gen-
 eral had made pressing instances for his assistance in
 the present conjuncture, when they were in such
 danger of being oppressed by the power of France
 in the Netherlands; that he had promised to co-
 operate with them towards opposing the further
 progress of their enemies; and even concerted mea-
 sures for that purpose. He declared it was with
 regret that he asked any further aids of his people:
 he exhorted them to watch over the public credit;
 and expressed his entire dependence on their zeal
 and unanimity. He was favored with loyal addresses,
 couched

couched in the warmest terms of duty and affection: but the supplies were retarded by new convulsions in the ministry. The Earl of Granville had made an effort to retrieve his influence in the cabinet, and his sovereign favored his pretensions. The two brothers, who knew his aspiring genius, and dreaded his superior talents, refused to admit such a colleague into the administration: they even resolved to strengthen their party, by introducing fresh auxiliaries into the offices of state. Some of these were personally disagreeable to his Majesty, who accordingly rejected the suit by which they were recommended. The Duke of Newcastle and his brother, with all their adherents, immediately resigned their employments. The Earl of Granville was appointed secretary of state, and resumed the reins of administration: but, finding himself unequal to the accumulated opposition that preponderated against him: foreseeing that he should not be able to secure the supplies in parliament; and dreading the consequences of that confusion which his restoration had already produced, he, in three days, voluntarily quitted the helm; and his Majesty acquiesced in the measures proposed by the opposite party. The seals were re-delivered to the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Harrington: Mr. Pelham, and all the rest who had resigned, were reinstated in their respective employments; and offices were conferred on several individuals who had never before been in the service of the government. William Pitt, Esq. was appointed vice-

BOOK treasurer of Ireland, and soon promoted to the place of paymaster general of the forces; at the same time the King declared him a privy-counsellor. This gentleman had been originally designed for the army, in which he actually bore a commission; but fate reserved him for a more important station. In point of fortune he was barely qualified to be elected member of parliament, when he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, where he soon out-shone all his compatriots. He displayed a surprising extent and precision of political knowledge, an irresistible energy of argument, and such power of elocution, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. It flashed like the lightning of heaven against the ministers and sons of corruption, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition: but his more substantial praise was founded upon his disinterested integrity, his incorruptible heart, his unconquerable spirit of independence, and his invariable attachment to the interest and liberty of his country.

§ V. The quiet of the ministry being re-established, the House of Commons provided for forty thousand seamen, nearly the same number of land-forces, besides fifteen regiments raised by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thousand marines. They settled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Hessian troops that were in England, as well as for the subsidy to the Landgrave. They granted three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four

hundred thousand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thousand pounds to defray the expense of eighteen thousand Hanoverians; about three-and-thirty thousand pounds in subsidies to the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and five hundred thousand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his Majesty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to seven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was raised by the land and malt-taxes, annuities on the additional duties imposed on glass, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the sinking-fund, and Exchequer-bills, chargeable on the first aids that should be granted in the next session of parliament.

§ VI. The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen persons who had borne arms in the rebel army were executed at Kennington-Common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered with great constancy under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death, in the same manner, at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York: of these a considerable number were gentlemen, and had acted as officers: about fifty had been executed as deserters in dif-

BOOK ferent parts of Scotland: eighty-one suffered the pains of the law as traitors. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations. Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the Lord Chancellor presiding as Lord High-Steward for the occasion. The two earls confessed their crimes and in pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his Majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, but this exception was over-ruled: then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his counsel. They might have expiated on the hardship of being tried by an *ex post facto* law, and claimed the privilege of trial in the county where the act of treason was said to have been committed. The same hardship was imposed upon all the imprisoned rebels: they were dragged in captivity to a strange country, far from their friends and connexions, destitute of means to produce evidence in their favor, even if they had been innocent of the charge. Balmerino waved this plea, and submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of death upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine personal accomplishments: he had been

educated in Revolution-principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, and partly from resentment to the government, on his being deprived of a pension which he had for some time enjoyed. He was convinced of his having acted criminally, and died with marks of penitence and contrition. Balmerino had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was gallant, brave, rough, and resolute: he eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings. In November, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honored with a commission in the service of his Most Christian Majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for this execution; and on the eighth day of December he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity. Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the Commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the Lord High-Steward. John Murray, secretary to the Prince-Pretender, and some of his own domestics appearing against him, he was convicted of high-treason, and condemned. Notwithstanding his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of

BOOK offence, he died like an old Roman, exclaiming,
II. "*dulce et decorum pro patria mori.*" He surveyed
1746. the crowd with attention, examined the ax, jested with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue.

§ VII. The flame of war on the continent did not expire at the election of an emperor, and the re-establishment of peace among the princes of the empire. On the contrary, it raged with double violence in consequence of these events; for the force that was before divided being now united in one body, exerted itself with greater vigor and rapidity. The States-General were overwhelmed with consternation. Notwithstanding the pains they had taken to avoid a war, and the concession with which they had soothed and supplicated the French Monarch in repeated embassies and memorials, they saw themselves stripped of their barrier, and once more in danger of being overwhelmed by that ambitious nation. The city of Brussels had been reduced during the winter; so that the enemy were in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, except a few fortresses. Great part of the forces belonging to the Republic were restricted from action by capitulations, to which they had subscribed. The states were divided in their councils between the two factions which had long subsisted. They trembled at the prospect of seeing Zealand invaded in the

spring. The Orange-party loudly called for an augmentation of their forces by sea and land, that they might prosecute the war with vigor. The common people, fond of novelty, dazzled by the splendor of greatness, and fully persuaded that nothing but a chief was wanting to their security, demanded the Prince of Orange as a Stadtholder; and even mingled menaces with their demands. The opposite faction dreaded alike the power of a Stadtholder, the neighbourhood of a French army, and the seditious disposition of the populace. An ambassador was sent to London with representations of the imminent dangers which threatened the republic, and he was ordered to solicit in the most pressing terms the assistance of his Britannic Majesty, that the allies might have a superiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The King was very well disposed to comply with their request; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the dissensions in his cabinet, had retarded the supplies, and embarrassed him so much, that he found it impossible to make those early preparations that were necessary to check the career of the enemy.

§ VIII. The King of France, with his general, the Count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the allies, who, to the number of four-and-forty thousand, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neigh-

B O O K bourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant
 11. Mareſchal Saxe immediately inveſted Antwerp,
 1746. which in a few days was ſurrendered. Then he
 appeared before the ſtrong town of Mons in
 Hainault, with an irrefiſtible train of artillery, an
 immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements.
 He carried on his approaches with ſuch unabating
 impetuofity, that, notwithstanding a very vigor-
 ous defence, the gariſon was obliged to capitulate
 on the twenty-ſeventh day of June, in about
 eight-and-twenty days after the place had been inveſted.
 Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious
 method of ſapping. The French King found it
 much more expeditious and effectual to bring in-
 to the field a prodigious train of battering cannon,
 and enormous mortars, that kept up ſuch a fire
 as no gariſon could ſuſtain, and diſcharged ſuch
 an inceſſant hail of bombs and bullets, as in a very
 little time reduced to ruins the place, with all its
 fortifications. St. Guſlain and Charleroy met with
 the fate of Mons and Antwerp, ſo that by the
 middle of July the French King was abſolute
 maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

§ IX. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this
 time aſſumed the command of the confederate army
 at Terheyde, which being re-enforced by the
 Heſſian troops from Scotland, and a freſh body of
 Auſtrians under Count Palſi, amounted to eighty-
 ſeven thouſand men, including the Dutch forces
 commanded by the Prince of Waldeck. The gene-
 rals, ſuppoſing the next ſtorm would fall upon
 Namur, marched towards that place, and took poſt in
 an advantageous ſituation on the eighteenth day

C H A P.

IX.

1746.

of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the eighth day of August, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off. Marechal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then Prince Charles, retiring across the Maese, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested. The trenches were opened on the second day of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution: but the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that in a few days the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and on the twenty-third day of the month the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks. Mean while the allied army encamped at Maestricht were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and Prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Maese on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards Marechal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht. On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the

BOOK enemy, who were repulsed. But Count Saxe being
II. re-enforced by a body of troops, under the Count
1746. de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed the Jaar, while they took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock Prince Waldeck on the left was charged with great fury; and after an obstinate defence over-powered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and as one brigade was repulsed another succeeded; so that the allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. The victory, however, cost the French general a much greater number of lives; and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the Earls of Crawford¹ and Rothes, Brigadier

¹ This nobleman, so remarkable for his courage and thirst of glory, exhibited a very extraordinary instance of presence of mind on the morning that preceded this battle. He and some volunteers, accompanied by his aide de camp, and attended by two orderly dragoons, had rode out before day to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; and fell in upon one of their advanced guards. The serjeant who commanded it immediately turned out his men, and their pieces were presented when the earl first perceived them. Without betraying the least mark of disorder, he rode up to the serjeant, and assuming the character of a French general, told him in that lan-

Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion. This action terminated the campaign. The allies passing the Maese, took up their winter-quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxemburgh; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

CHAP.

IX.

1746.

§ X. The campaign in Italy was altogether unfavorable to the French and Spaniards. The house of Austria being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, was enabled to make the stronger efforts in this country; and the British subsidy encouraged the King of Sardinia to act with redoubled vivacity. Marechal Maillebois occupied the greater part of Piedmont with about thirty thousand men. Don Philip and the Count de Gages

guage, that there was no occasion for such ceremony. Then he asked, if they had perceived any of the enemy's parties; and being answered in the negative, "Very well (said he) be upon your guard; and if you should be attacked, I will take care that you shall be sustained." So saying, he and his company retired before the serjeant could recollect himself from the surprise occasioned by this unexpected address. In all probability he was soon sensible of his mistake; for the incident was that very day publicly mentioned in the French army. The Prince of Tingray, an officer in the Austrian service, having been taken prisoner in the battle that ensued, dined with Marechal Count Saxe, who dismissed him on his parole, and desired he would charge himself with a facetious compliment to his old friend, the Earl of Crawford. He wished his lordship joy of being a French general, and said he could not help being displeased with the serjeant, as he had not procured him the honor of his lordship's company at dinner.

BOOK were at the head of a greater number in the
II. neighbourhood of Milan; and the Duke of Modena,
1746. with eight thousand, secured his own dominions. The King of Sardinia augmented his forces to six-and-thirty thousand; and the Austrian army, under the Prince of Lichtenstein, amounted to a much greater number; so that the enemy were reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, and retired towards the Mantuan. In February Baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, invested and took the strong fortress of Aste. He afterwards relieved the citadel of Alexandria, which the Spaniards had blocked up in the winter, reduced Casal, recovered Valencia, and obliged Maillebois to retire to the neighbourhood of Genoa. On the other side, Don Philip and Count Gages abandoned Milan, Pavia, and Parma, retreating before the Austrians with the utmost precipitation to Placentia, where they were joined on the third of June by the French forces under Maillebois.

§ XI. Before this junction was effected, the Spanish general, Pignatelli, had passed the river Po in the night with a strong detachment, and beaten up the quarters of seven thousand Austrians posted at Codogno. Don Philip, finding himself at the head of two-and-fifty thousand men by his junction with the French general, resolved to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, before they should be re-enforced by his Sardinian Majesty. Accordingly, on the fourth day of June in the evening, he marched with equal silence and expedition, and entered the Austrian trenches about eleven, when a desperate

battle ensued. The Austrians were prepared for the attack, which they sustained with great vigor till morning. Then they quitted their intrenchments, and charged the enemy in their turn with such fury, that after an obstinate resistance the combined army was broke, and retired with precipitation to Placentia, leaving on the field fifteen thousand men killed, wounded, and taken, together with sixty colors, and ten pieces of artillery. In a few weeks the Austrians were joined by the Piedmontese: the King of Sardinia assumed the chief command; and Prince Lichtenstein being indisposed, his place was supplied by the Marquis de Botta. Don Philip retired to the other side of the Po, and extended his conquests in the open country of the Milanese. The King of Sardinia called a council of war, in which it was determined that he should pass the river with a strong body of troops, in order to straighten the enemy on one side; while the Marquis de Botta should march up the Tydone, to cut off their communication with Placentia. They forthwith quitted all the posts they had occupied between the Lambro and Adda, resolving to repass the Po, and retreat to Tortona. With this view they threw bridges of boats over that river, and began to pass on the ninth day of August in the evening. They were attacked at Rotto Freddo by a detachment of Austrians, under General Serbelloni, who maintained the engagement till ten in the morning, when Botta arrived: the battle was renewed with redoubled rage, and lasted till four in the afternoon, when the enemy retired in great disorder to Tortona, with the loss of eight thousand men, a good

BOOK

II.

1746.

number of colors and standards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. This victory cost the Austrians four thousand men killed upon the spot, including the gallant General Bernclau. The victors immediately summoned Placentia to surrender; and the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men, were made prisoners of war: Don Philip continued his retreat, and of all his forces brought six-and-twenty thousand only into the territories of Genoa.

§ XII. The Piedmontese and Austrians rejoining in the neighbourhood of Pavia, advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance, while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation: for on the twenty-second day of August they were again in motion, and retired into Provence. The court of Madrid imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of Count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the Marquis de las Minas to resume the command of the forces. In the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December: and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation, by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition: and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions. The Marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the King of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence: but, that monarch

being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was intrusted to Count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valor and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by Vice-Admiral Medley, who commanded the British Squadron in the Mediterranean. The French forces had fortified the passes of the Var, under the conduct of the Marechal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of Count Brown; and this general, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river, without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, Baron Roth, with four-and-twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British Squadron. The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September: but Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, Count Brown abandoned the enterprise, and repassed the Var, not without some damage from the enemy.

§ XIII. The court of Vienna, which has always patronized oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its directions were so rigorously put in execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly, they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprised some battalions of the Austrians;

BOOK II. 1746. furrounded others, and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter. The Marquis de Botta acted with caution and spirit: but being over-powered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Bochetta on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive re-enforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a sea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi. The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

§ XIV. The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honor on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East-Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French Squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the important settlement of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September by the French commodore, de la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would probably have shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America, though it was a scene that seemed

seemed to promise the greatest success to the arms of England. The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situated upon the river of St. Laurence. Commissions were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North-America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England; and eight thousand troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this expedition. But their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far advanced to risque the great ships on the boisterous coast of North-America. That the armament, however, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent upon the coast of Bretagne, on the supposition that Port L'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company, might be surprised; or that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian general in Provence.

§ XV. The naval force intended for this service consisted of sixteen great ships and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store-ships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed Admiral of the blue division. Six battalions of land-troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of

VOL. IV.

Y

B O O K Lieutenant-General Sinclair; and the whole fleet set
 11. sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September. On the twentieth the troops were landed in
 1746. Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port-L'Orient. The militia, re-enforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled to the number of two thousand, and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation: but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day General Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league from Port L'Orient, summoned that place to surrender. He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces, on condition that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form, though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces sufficient for such an enterprize. This strange resolution was owing to the declaration of the engineers, who promised to lay the place in ashes in the space of four-and-twenty hours. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. Had he given the assault on the first night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror and confusion, and desti-

tute of regular troops, in all probability it would have been easily taken by escalade: but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour: new works were raised with great industry: the garrison was re-enforced by several bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country. Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works: but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, the engineers owning they could not perform their promise, and Admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, General Sinclair abandoned the siege. Having caused the two iron pieces of cannon and the mortars to be spiked, he retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-embarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected re-enforcements from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hopes of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually. In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon-Bay, where they destroyed the *Ardent*, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns;

BOOK and a detachment of the forces being landed, took
II. possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the
1746. little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the Admiral and general continued till the seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-embarked, the fleet sailed from the French coast: the Admiral returned to England, and the transports with the soldiers proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

§ XVI. This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demonstrated the possibility of hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well-timed, and vigorously conducted. Indeed, nothing could be more absurd or precipitate than an attempt to distress the enemy by landing a handful of troops, without draft-horses, tents, or artillery, from a fleet of ships lying on an open beach, exposed to the uncertainty of weather in the most tempestuous season of the year, so as to render the retreat and re-embarkation altogether precarious. The British squadrons in the West-Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant-ships, and their convoy, to pass by his squadron unmolested; and Commodore Mitchell behaved scandalously in a rencountre with the French squadron, under the conduct of Monsieur de Conflans, who in his return to

Europe took the Severn, an English ship of fifty guns. The cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two-and-twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register-ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce*. The new King of Spain being supposed well affected to the British nation, an effort was made to detach him from the interests of France, by means of the Marquis de Tabernega, who had formerly been his favorite, and resided many years as a refugee in England. This nobleman proceeded to Lisbon, where a negociation was set on foot with the court of Madrid. But his efforts miscarried; and the influence of the queen mother continued to predominate in the Spanish councils. The States-General had for some years endeavoured to promote

* In the month of July, Philip V. King of Spain dying, in the sixty-third year of his age, was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinand, born of Maria Louisa Gabriela, sister to the late King of Sardinia. He espoused Donna Maria Magdalena, Infanta of Portugal, but had no issue. Philip was but two days survived by his daughter, the Dauphiness of France. The same month was remarkable for the death of Christiern VI. King of Denmark, succeeded by his son Frederic V. who had married the princess Louisa, youngest daughter to the King of Great-Britain.

BOOK

11.

1746.

a pacification by remonstrances, and even entreaties, at the court of Versailles, the French King at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, Great-Britain, France and Holland, were assembled: but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

§ XVII. The parliament of Great-Britain meeting in November, the King exhorted them to concert with all possible expedition the proper measures for pursuing the war with vigor, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be seasonably augmented: he likewise, gave them to understand, that the funds appropriated for the support of his civil government had for some years past fallen short of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and said he relied on their known affection to find out some method to make good this deficiency. As all those who had conducted the opposition were now concerned in the administration, little or no objection was made to any demand or proposal of the government and its ministers. The commons having considered the estimates, voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year, and about sixty thousand land-forces, including eleven thousand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds to the Empress Queen of Hungary; three hundred thousand pounds to the King of Sardinia; four hundred and ten thousand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thousand Hanoverian

auxiliaries; one hundred and sixty-one thousand six hundred and seven pounds, for six thousand Hessians; subsidies to the Electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and the sum of five hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to prosecute the war with advantage. In a word, the supplies amounted to nine millions four hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds; a sum almost incredible, if we consider how the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure. It was raised by the usual taxes, re-enforced with new impositions on windows, carriages, and spirituous liquors, a lottery, and a loan from the sinking-fund. The new taxes were mortgaged for four millions by transferable annuities, at an interest of four, and a premium of ten per cent. By reflecting on these enormous grants, one would imagine the ministry had been determined to impoverish the nation: but, from the eagerness and expedition with which the people subscribed for the money, one would conclude that the riches of the kingdom were inexhaustible. It may not be amiss to observe, that the supplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greatest annual sum that was raised during the reign of Queen Anne, though she maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great-Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh harvests of glory and advantage: whereas this war had proved an almost uninterrupted series of events big with disaster and dishonor. During the last two years, the naval expense of England had

BOOK

II.

1746.

exceeded that of France about five millions sterling; though her fleets had not obtained one signal advantage over the enemy at sea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. She was at once a prey to her declared adversaries and professed friends, before the end of summer, she numbered among her mercenaries two emperors, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom she hired to assist her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themselves were immediately interested; and she had no more than a secondary concern. Had these fruitless subsidies been saved: had the national revenue been applied with economy to national purposes: had it been employed in liquidating gradually the public incumbrances; in augmenting the navy, improving manufactures, encouraging and securing the colonies, and extending trade and navigation, corruption would have become altogether unnecessary, and disaffection would have vanished: the people, would have been eased of their burdens, and ceased to complain: commerce would have flourished, and produced such affluence as must have raised Great-Britain to the highest pinnacle of maritime power, above all rivalry or competition. She would have been dreaded by her enemies; revered by her neighbours: oppressed nations would have crept under her wings for protection; contending potentates would have appealed to her decision; and she would have shone the universal arbitress of Europe. How different is her present situation! her debts are enormous, her taxes intolerable, her people

discontented, and the sinews of her government relaxed. Without conduct, confidence, or concert, she engages in blundering negotiations: she involves herself rashly in foreign quarrels, and lavishes her substance with the most dangerous precipitation: she is even deserted by her wonted vigor, steadiness, and intrepidity: she grows vain, fantastical, and pusillanimous: her arms are despised by her enemies; and her councils ridiculed through all Christendom.

CHAP.

IX.

1746.

§ XVIII. The King, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expense, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The House of Commons presented an address of thanks for this instance of economy, by which the annual sum of seventy thousand pounds was saved to the nation. Notwithstanding this seeming harmony between the King and the great council of the nation, his Majesty resolved, with the advice of his council, to dissolve the present parliament, though the term of seven years was not yet expired since its first meeting. The ministry affected to insinuate, that the States-General were unwilling to concur with his Majesty in vigorous measures against France, during the existence of a parliament which had undergone such a vicissitude of complexion. The allies of Great-Britain, far from being suspicious of this assembly, which had supplied them so liberally, saw with concern, that, according to law, it would soon be dismissed;

BOOK and they doubted whether another could be pro-

II. , cured equally agreeable to their purposes. In order
1747. to remove this doubt, the ministry resolved to surprise the kingdom with a new election; before the malecontents should be prepared to oppose the friends of the government. Accordingly, when the business of the session was dispatched, the King having given the royal assent to the several acts they had prepared, dismissed them in the month of June, with an affectionate speech, that breathed nothing but tenderness and gratitude. The parliament was immediately dissolved by proclamation, and new writs were issued for convoking another. Among the laws passed in this session, was an act abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, and taking away the tenure of wardholdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal sources of those rebellions that had been excited since the Revolution. In the Highlands they certainly kept the common people in subjection to their chiefs, whom they implicitly followed and obeyed in all their undertakings. By this act these mountaineers were legally emancipated from slavery: but as the tenants enjoyed no leases, and were at all times liable to be ejected from their farms, they still depended on the pleasure of their lords, notwithstanding this interposition of the legislature, which granted a valuable consideration in money to every nobleman and petty baron, who was thus deprived of one part of his inheritance. The forfeited estates, indeed, were divided into small farms, and let by the govern-

ment on leases at an under-value; so that those who had the good fortune to obtain such leases tasted the sweets of independence: but the Highlanders in general were left in their original indigence and incapacity, at the mercy of their superiors. Had manufactures and fisheries been established in different parts of their country, they would have seen and felt the happy consequences of industry, and in a little time been effectually detached from all their slavish connexions.

§ XIX. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter at the Hague, between the Duke of Cumberland and the States-General of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They, therefore, determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese should once more penetrate into Provence. The Dutch patriots; however, were not roused into this exertion, until all their remonstrances had failed at the court of Versailles; until they had been urged by repeated memorials of the English ambassador, and stimulated by the immediate danger to which their country was exposed: for France was by this time possessed of all the Austrian Netherlands, and seemed bent upon penetrating into the territories of the United-Provinces. In February, the Duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces; and in the latter end of March they

BOOK took the field in three separate bodies. His royal
II. highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and
1747. Hessians, fixed his head-quarters at the village of
 Tilberg: the Prince of Waldeck was posted with
 the Dutch troops at Breda; and Marechal Bathi-
 ani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the
 neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army
 amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand
 men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the
 inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of
 forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time
 created marechal-general of France, continued
 his troops within their cantonments at Bruges,
 Antwerp, and Brussels, declaring, that when the
 allied army should be weakened by sickness and
 mortality, he would convince the Duke of Cum-
 berland, that the first duty of a general is to pro-
 vide for the health and preservation of his troops.
 In April this fortunate commander took the field,
 at the head of one hundred and forty thousand
 men; and the Count the Clermont commanded a
 separate body of nineteen battalions and thirty
 squadrons. Count Lowendahl was detached on
 the sixteenth day of the month, with seven-and-
 twenty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders:
 at the same time, the French minister at the Hague
 presented a memorial to the States, intimating,
 that his master was obliged to take this step by
 the necessity of war: but that his troops should
 observe the strictest discipline, without interfering
 with the religion, government, or commerce of the
 republic; he likewise declared, that the countries

and places of which he might be obliged to take possession should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succours.

CHAP.

IX.

1747.

§ XX. While the States deliberated upon this declaration, Count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant, and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewise the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the Marquis de Contades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Philippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorously defended by two English battalions: but they were over-powered, and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and Count Lowendahl undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roque, the Dutch governor, though he knew that a re-enforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French general took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a descent on the island of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation. They saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of Commodore Mitchel¹, who, by means of his

¹ Not the person who commanded in the West-Indies.

BOOK

II.

1747.

sloops, tenders, and small craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to despair, began to clamor loudly against their governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security. The friends of the Prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged their discontent; and exaggerated the danger: they reminded them of the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-two, when the French King was at the gates of Amsterdam; and the republic was saved by the choice of a stadtholder: they exhorted them to turn their eyes on the descendant of those heroes who had established the liberty and independence of the United-Provinces: they extolled his virtue and ability; his generosity, his justice, his unshaken love to his country. The people in several towns, inflamed by such representations to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the Prince of Orange stadtholder. He himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered his services for the defence of the province. On the twenty - eighth day of April he was nominated captain - general and Admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and on the second day of May, the Prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the States-General, invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and Admiral of the United-Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this

resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army: a council of war was established for inquiring into the conduct of the governors who had given up the frontier-places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

CHAP.

IX.

1747.

§ XXI. Mean while, the Duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Netheſ, to cover Bergen-op-zoom and Maestricht; and mareſchal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French King arrived at Bruffels; and his general resolved to undertake the ſiege of Maestricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of June, they took poſſeſſion of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Biſſen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laſſeldt, in which they poſted ſeveral battalions of Britiſh infantry. The French had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies: and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laſſeldt, which

BOOK

II.

1747.

was well fortified, and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musquetry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The confederates were driven out of the village: yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, Count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions, and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage. At noon the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: Prince Waldeck led up the centre: Marschal Bathiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates, when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The Duke of Cumberland, who exerted

exerted himself with equal courage and activity in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would in all probability have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed: but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery, except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expense. The common cause of the confederate powers is said to have suffered from the pride and ignorance of their generals. On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the Count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, Marechal Bathiani asked permission of the commander in chief to attack them before they should be re-enforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprise. No regard was paid to this proposal: but the superior asked in his turn where the Marechal would be in case he should

BOOK be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be
 11. found at the head of my troops," and retired in
 1747. disgust. The subsequent disposition has likewise
 been blamed, inasmuch as not above one half of
 the army could act, while the enemy exerted
 their whole force.

§ XXII. The confederates passed the Maëse, and encamped in the duchy of Limburgh, so as to cover Maëstricht; while the French King remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Marechal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached Count Lowendahl with six-and-thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favorite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. The Prince of Saxe Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battalions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong re-enforcement from the confederate army; and the old Baron Cronstrom; whom the Stadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with

equal vigor. The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this important siege: Count Lowendahl received divers re-enforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of Baron Schwartzberg, to co-operate with the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The French general lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besieged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batteries, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an unintermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered: the town was laid in ashes: the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But, still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or re-enforced from the lines. In a word, it was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason

CHAP.

IX.

1747.

Z 2

- BOOK** Count Lowendahl resolved to hazard the attack,
 11. before the preparations should be made for his
 1747. reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions,
 and at four o'clock in the morning, on the sixteenth day of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fossé, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surpris'd by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts, they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the States-General, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh re-enforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn: yet, they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the spot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French King was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, then

he promoted him to the rank of Mareschal of France; appointed Count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands; and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the Duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

CHAP.

IX.

247.

§ XXIII. In Italy the French arms did not triumph with equal success, though the Mareschal de Belleisle saw himself at the head of a powerful army in Provence. In April he passed the Var without opposition, and took possession of Nice. He met with little or no resistance in reducing Montalban, Villafranca, and Ventimiglia; while General Brown, with eight-and-twenty thousand Austrians, retired towards Final and Savona. In the mean time, another large body, under Count Schuylemberg, who had succeeded the Marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thousand Piedmontese in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. The French King had sent thither supplies, succours, and engineers, with the Duke de Boufflers, as ambassador to the republic, who likewise acted as commander in chief of the forces employed for its defence. The Austrian general assembled his troops in the Milanese: having forced the passage of the Bochetta on the thirteenth of January, he advanced into the territories of Genoa; and the Riviera was ravaged without mercy. On the last day of March he appeared before the city, at the head of forty thousand men, and summoned the revolted to lay down their arms. The answer he received was, that the republic had fifty-four

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BOOK thousand men in arms; two hundred and sixty cannon, thirty-four mortars, with abundance of ammunition and provision: that they would defend their liberty with their last blood, and be buried in the ruins of their capital, rather than submit to the clemency of the court of Vienna, except by an honorable capitulation, guaranteed by the Kings of Great-Britain and Sardinia, the republic of Venice, and the United Provinces. In the beginning of May, Genoa was invested on all sides: a furious sally was made by the Duke de Boufflers, who drove the besiegers from their posts; but the Austrians rallying, he was repulsed in his turn, with the loss of seven hundred men. General Schuylemberg carried on his operations with such skill, vigor, and intrepidity, that he made himself master of the suburbs of Bisagno; and in all probability would have reduced the city, had not he been obliged to desist, in consequence of the repeated remonstrances made by the King of Sardinia and Count Brown, who represented the necessity of his abandoning his enterprise, and drawing off his army, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of Mareschal de Belleisle. Accordingly, he raised the siege on the tenth day of June, and returned into the Milanese, in order to join his Sardinian Majesty: while the Genoese made an irruption into the Parmesan and Placentin, where they committed terrible outrages, in revenge for the mischiefs they had undergone.

§ XXIV. While the Mareschal de Belleisle remained at Ventimiglia, his brother, at the head

of four-and-thirty thousand French and Spaniards, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont: on the sixth day of July he arrived at the pass of Exilles, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Dauphiné, situated on the north side of the river Doria. The defence of this important post the King of Sardinia had committed to the care of the Count de Brigueras, who formed an encampment behind the lines, with fourteen battalions of Piedmontese and Austrians, while divers detachments were posted along all the passes of the Alps. On the eighth day of the month the Piedmontese intrenchments were attacked by the Chevalier de Belleisle, with incredible intrepidity: but the columns were repulsed with great loss in three successive attacks. Impatient of this obstinate opposition, and determined not to survive a miscarriage, this impetuous general seized a pair of colors, and advancing at the head of his troops, through a prodigious fire, pitched them with his own hand on the enemy's intrenchments. At that instant he fell dead, having received two musquet-balls and the thrust of a bayonet in his body. The assailants were so much dispirited by the death of their commander, that they forthwith gave way, and retreated with precipitation towards Sestriers, having lost near five thousand men in the attack. The Marechal was no sooner informed of his brother's misfortune than he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles: while the King of Sardinia, having assembled an army of seventy thousand men, threatened Dauphiné with an in-

BOOK 11.
1747. vasion: but the excessive rains prevented the execution of his design. General Leutrum was detached with twenty battalions to drive the French from Ventimiglia; but, Belleisle marching back, that scheme was likewise frustrated: and thus ended the campaign.

§ XXV. In this manner was the French King baffled in his projects upon Italy: nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations. He had in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the Duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton: but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the Commadore de la Jonquiere; and the other, destined for India, by Monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great-Britain, being apprized of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose Vice-Admiral Anson and Rear Admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons commanded by La Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under

their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British Squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle: but Mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised Admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, otherwise the French would in all probability escape by favor of the night. The proposal was embraced; and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valor, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colors. The Admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these, Captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*. He was nephew to the Lord Viscount Cobham, a youth of the most amiable character and promising genius, animated with the noblest sentiments of honor and patriotism. Eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon-ball. He submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally

BOOK

11.

1747.

lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms in this engagement was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the Rear Admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honored with the order of the Bath.

§ XXVI. About the middle of June, Commodore Fox, with six ships of war cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Galicia, took above forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French King sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-Admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsieur de Letendeur. On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other in the latitude of Belleisle. The French Commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships and the frigates to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon Admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till

night, when all the French squadron, except the *Intrepide* and *Tonant*, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including Captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under Lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honor of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, Admiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to Commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and, the other French islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead; and in his letter to the board of Admiralty declared that all his captains behaved like men of honor during the engagement, except Mr. Fox, whose conduct he desired might be subjected to an inquiry. That gentleman was accordingly tried,

BOOK by a court-martial, and suspended from his command, for having followed the advice of his officers, contrary to his own better judgment: but he was soon restored, and afterwards promoted to the rank of Admiral; while Mr. Matthews, whose courage never incurred suspicion, still labored under a suspension for that which had been successfully practised in both these late actions, namely, engaging the enemy without any regard to the line of battle.

II.
2747.

§ XXVII. In the Mediterranean Vice-Admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish Squadron in Carthagena; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villafranca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that Squadron devolved upon Rear-Admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ships bound to North-America, fell in with the *Glorioso*, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western Isles. She had sailed from the Havannah, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erskine, in the *Warwick*, of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was entirely disabled: but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the *Glorioso* arrived in safety at Ferrol: there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on

her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the Dartmouth, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by Captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation : but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors, who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favorable as this accident may seem to the Glorioso, she did not escape. An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of Captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent, with a re-enforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East Indies ; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprize of importance against the enemy : the ministry of England, therefore, resolved to equip a fresh armament, that when joined by the ships in India should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service, a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of Rear-Admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valor and capacity. In the course

BOOK of this year, the British cruisers were so alert and
II. successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four
1747. prizes from the French and Spaniards, whereas the loss of Great Britain in the same time, did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

§ XXVIII. All the belligerent powers were by this time heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which all, in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the King of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject to the deputies of the States-General. The signal success of the British arms at sea confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise re-enforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West-Indies rendered so precarious by the vigilance of the British cruisers, that he could no longer depend upon their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of his navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a stadtholder had united the whole power of the States-General against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were entirely frustrated by the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, and the re-establish-

ment of peace between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg: the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation; and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid such incredible sums as enabled their sovereign not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannic Majesty and the Czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the Earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the King of Great-Britain at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the Czarina engaged to hold in readiness thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition. The States-General acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one-fourth of the subsidy. His most Christian Majesty, moved by these considerations, made further advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the King of Great-Britain.

BOOK § XXIX. The elections for the new parliament in England had been conducted so as fully to answer the purposes of the Duke of Newcastle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who had for some time wholly engrossed the administration. Both Houses were assembled on the tenth day of November, when Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the Commons. The session was opened, as usual, by a speech from the throne, congratulating them on the signal successes of the British navy, and the happy alteration in the government of the United Provinces. His Majesty gave them to understand, that a congress would speedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the success of this negotiation than the vigor and unanimity of their proceedings. He received such addresses as the ministers were pleased to dictate. Opposition now languished at their feet. The Duke of Bedford was become a courtier, and in a little time appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Chesterfield, who had lately executed that office which he now resigned; and the Earl of Sandwich no longer harangued against the administration. This new House of Commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land-forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the

the subsidies for the Queen of Hungary, the Czarina, the King of Sardinia, the Electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the Duke of Wolfenbuttel: the sum of two hundred thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New-England, to re-imburse them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton: five hundred thousand pounds were given to his Majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants, in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions, of which the greater part was raised on a loan by subscription, chargeable on a new subsidy of poundage exacted from all merchandise imported into Great-Britain. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed the legislature had established some regulations in Scotland, which were thought necessary to prevent such commotions for the future. The Highlanders were disarmed, and an act passed, for abolishing their peculiarity of garb, which was supposed to keep up party-distinctions, to encourage their martial disposition, and preserve the memory of the exploits achieved by their ancestors. In this session a bill was brought in to enforce the execution of that law, and passed with another act, for the more effectual punishment of high treason in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice of insuring French and Spanish ships at London being deemed the sole circumstance that prevented a total stagnation of commerce in those

BOOK countries, it was prohibited by law under severe
II. penalties ; and this step of the British parliament
 accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. Several
 other prudent measures were taken in the course of
 this session, for the benefit of the public ; and among
 these we may reckon an act for encouraging the
 manufacture of indigo in the British plantations of
 North-America ; an article for which Great-Britain
 used to pay two hundred thousand pounds yearly
 to the subjects of France. The session was closed
 on the thirteenth day of May, when the King de-
 clared to both Houses, that the preliminaries of a
 general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Cha-
 pelle by the ministers of Great-Britain, France,
 and the United-Provinces ; and that the basis of
 this accommodation was a general restitution of
 the conquests which had been made during the
 war. Immediately after the prorogation of parlia-
 ment his Majesty set out for his German dominions,
 after having appointed a regency to rule the realm
 in his absence.

AN. 1748.

§ XXX. The articles might have been made much
 less unfavorable to Great-Britain and her allies, had
 the ministry made a proper use of the treaty with
 the Czarina ; and if the confederates had acted with
 more vigor and expedition in the beginning of the
 campaign. The Russian auxiliaries might have
 been transported by sea to Lubeck before the end
 of the preceding summer, in their own gallies
 which had been lying ready for use since the
 month of July. Had this expedient been used,

the Russian troops would have joined the confederate army before the conclusion of the last campaign. But this easy and expeditious method of conveyance was rejected for a march by land, of incredible length and difficulty, which could not be begun before the month of January, nor accomplished till Midsummer. The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January, by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered. The towns of Holland became the scenes of tumult and insurrection. The populace plundered the farmers of the revenue, abolished the taxes, and insulted the magistrates; so that the States-General, seeing their country on the brink of anarchy and confusion, authorized the Prince of Orange to make such alterations as he should see convenient. They presented him with a diploma, by which he was constituted hereditary stadtholder and captain-general of Dutch-Brabant, Flanders, and the upper quarter of Guelderland; and the East-India company appointed him director and governor-general of their commerce and settlements in the Indies. Thus invested with an authority unknown to his ancestors, he exerted himself with equal industry and discretion in new-modelling, augmenting, and assembling the troops of the republic. The confederates knew that the

BOOK Count de Saxe had a design upon Maëstricht:
 11. the Austrian general Bathiani made repeated re-
 1748. monstrances to the British ministry, entreating them
 to take speedy measures for the preservation of
 that fortress. He in the month of January pro-
 posed that the Duke of Cumberland should cross
 the sea, and confer with the Prince of Orange on
 this subject: he undertook, at the peril of his
 head, to cover Maëstricht with seventy thousand
 men, from all attacks of the enemy: but his repre-
 sentations seemed to have made very little impres-
 sion on those to whom they were addressed. The
 Duke of Cumberland did not depart from Eng-
 land till towards the latter end of February: part
 of March was elapsed, before the transports sailed
 from the Nore with the additional troops and ar-
 tillery; and the last drafts from the foot-guards
 were not embarked till the middle of August.

§ XXXI. The different bodies of the confederate
 forces joined each other, and encamped in the
 neighbourhood of Ruremonde, to the number of
 one hundred and ten thousand men; and the
 French army invested Maëstricht, without op-
 position, on the third day of April. The gar-
 rison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops,
 under the conduct of the governor, Baron d'Aylva,
 who defended the place with extraordinary skill
 and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in re-
 peated sallies; but they were determined to sur-
 mount all opposition, and prosecuted their ap-
 proaches with incredible ardor. They assaulted
 the covered-way, and there effected a lodgement,

after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops: but, next day they were entirely dislodged by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his Christian Majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honors of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by Prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial Majesties: then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French King declared, that should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-zoom. This dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own country; and that the French King should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they

BOOK

II.

3748.

continued till the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the mean time seven-and-thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective Admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations which had been at variance. No material transaction distinguished the campaign in Italy. The French and Spanish troops, who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the Duke de Richelieu, who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the Duke de Boufflers; while Marechal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under General Leutrum. At the same time General Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the eastern Riviera, and recommence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

§ XXXII. In the East-Indies, Rear-Admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which,

in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He prosecuted the enterprise with great spirit, and took the fort of Area Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town: then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be re-embarked; and raising the siege on the sixth day of October, returned to fort St. David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great-Britain was more successful in the West-Indies. Rear-Admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis, on the south side of Hispaniola, which after a warm action of three hours was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment, which he imputed to the misconduct of Captain Dent, who was tried in England

BOOK

II.

1748.

by a court-martial, and honorably acquitted. On the first day of October, the same Admiral cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish squadron of nearly the same strength, under the command of the Admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued with intervals till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships; one of which struck to the British Admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains with misbehaviour, and they recriminated on his conduct. On their return to England, a court-martial was the consequence of their mutual accusations. Those who adhered to the commander, and the others whom he impeached, were inflamed against each other with the most rancorous resentment. The Admiral himself did not escape uncensured: two of his captains were reprimanded: but Captain Holmes, who had displayed uncommon courage, was honorably acquitted. Their animosities did not end with the court-martial. A bloodless encounter happened between the Admiral and Captain Powlet: but Captain Innes and Captain Clarke, meeting by appointment in Hyde-park with pistols, the former was mortally wounded, and died next morning; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder,

but indulged with his Majesty's pardon. No naval transaction of any consequence happened in the European seas, during the course of this summer. In January, indeed, the *Magnanime*, a French ship of the line, was taken in the channel by two English cruizers, after an obstinate engagement; and the privateers took a considerable number of merchant-ships from the enemy.

CHAP.

IX.

1748.

§ XXXIII. The plenipotentiaries still continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of the definitive treaty, which was at length concluded and signed on the seventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which were now expressly confirmed, from that of Westphalia to the last concluded at London and Vienna. The contracting parties agreed, That all prisoners on each side should be mutually released, without ransom, and all conquests restored: That the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla should be ceded as a settlement to the Infant Don Philip, and the heirs-male of his body; but in case of his ascending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male-issuë, that they should revert to the House of Austria: That the King of Great-Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction, to reside in France, as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape-Breton, and all the other conquests which his Britannic Majesty should have achieved in the East or West-Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed: That

B O O K the assiento contract, with the article of the annual
II. ship, should be confirmed for four years, during
1748. which the enjoyment of that privilege was suspended since the commencement of the present war: That Dunkirk should remain fortified on the land-side, and towards the sea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the King of Prussia for the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as he at present possessed them; and they likewise engaged to secure the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia in possession of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction. The other articles regulated the forms and times fixed for this mutual restitution, as well as for the termination of hostilities in different parts of the world. But the right of English subjects to navigate in the American seas, without being subject to search, was not once mentioned, though this claim was the original source of the differences between Great-Britain and Spain: nor were the limits of Acadia ascertained. This and all other disputes were left to the discussion of commissaries. We have already observed, that after the troubles of the empire began, the war was no longer maintained on British principles. It became a continental contest, and was prosecuted on the side of the allies without conduct, spirit, or unanimity. In the Netherlands they were outnumbered and outwitted by the enemy. They never hazarded a battle without sustaining a defeat. Their vast

armies, paid by Great-Britain, lay inactive, and beheld one fortress reduced after another, until the whole country was subdued, and as their generals fought their plenipotentiaries negotiated. At a time when their affairs began to wear the most promising aspect; when the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries would have secured an undoubted superiority in the field; when the British fleets had trampled on the naval power of France and Spain, intercepted their supplies of treasure, and cut off all their resources of commerce; the British ministers seemed to treat, without the least regard to the honor and advantage of their country. They left her most valuable and necessary rights of trade unowned and undecided: they subscribed to the insolent demand of sending the nobles of the realm to grace the court, and adorn the triumphs of her enemy: and they tamely gave up her conquests in North-America, of more consequence to her traffic than all the other dominions for which the powers at war contended: they gave up the important isle of Cape-Breton, in exchange for a petty factory in the East-Indies, belonging to a private company, whose existence had been deemed prejudicial to the commonwealth. What then were the fruits which Britain reaped from this long and desperate war? A dreadful expense of blood and treasure *, disgrace upon disgrace,

* Such an expensive war could not be maintained without a very extraordinary exertion of a commercial spirit: accordingly, we find that Great-Britain, since the death of

BOOK an additional load of grievous impositions, and
II. the national debt accumulated to the enormous
1748. sum of eighty millions sterling.

King William, has risen under her pressures with increased vigor and perseverance. Whether it be owing to the natural progression of trade extending itself from its origin to its *acme* or *ne plus ultra*, or to the encouragement given by the administration to monied men of all denominations; or to necessity, impelling those who can no longer live on small incomes to risk their capitals in traffic, that they may have a chance for bettering their fortunes; or, lastly, to a concurrence of all these causes; certain it is, the national exports and imports have been sensibly increasing for these forty years: the yearly medium of woollen exports, from the year 1738 to 1743 inclusive, amounted to about three millions and an half, which was a yearly increase on the medium, of five hundred thousand pounds above the medium from 1718 to 1724. From this article, the reader will conceive the prodigious extent and importance of the British commerce.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



